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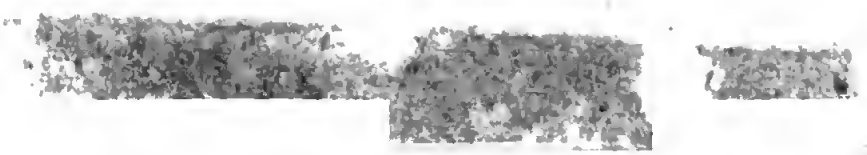

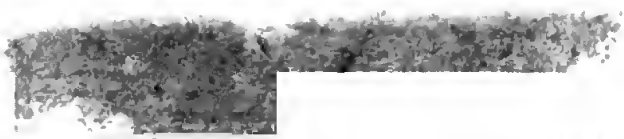

MISCELLANIES.

By Dr. *SWIFT*.

The EIGHTH VOLUME.

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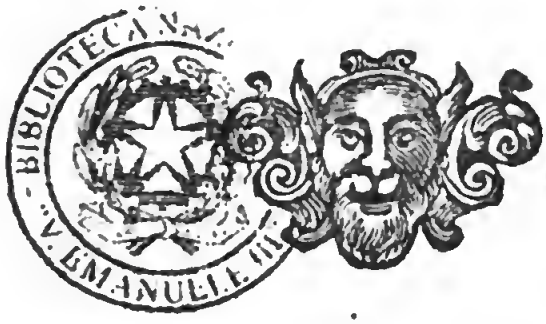
THE
EIGHTH VOLUME.

The FIFTH EDITION.



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VOL. VIII.

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THE PUBLICK SPIRIT OF THE WHIGS, &c.*

I Cannot, without ſome Envy, and a juſt Reſentment againſt the oppoſite Conduct of others, reflect upon that Generoſity and Tenderneſs, wherewith the Heads and principal Members of a ſtruggling Faction treat thoſe who will undertake to hold a Pen in their Defence. And the Behaviour of theſe Patrons is

* *Upon the firſt Publication of this Pamphlet, all the* Scotch *Lords then in* London *went in a Body, and complained to Queen* Anne *of the Affront put on them and their Nation, by the Author of this Treatiſe. Whereupon a Proclamation was publiſhed by her Majeſty, offering a Reward of Three Hundred Pounds to diſcover him. The Reaſon for offering ſo ſmall a Sum was, that the Queen and Miniſtry had no Deſire to have our ſuppoſed Author taken into Cuſtody.*

yet the more laudable, becauſe the Benefits they confer are almoſt *gratis*. If any of their Labourers can ſcratch out a Pamphlet, they deſire no more; there is no Queſtion offered about the Wit, the Style, the Argument. Let a Pamphlet come out upon a Demand in a proper Juncture, you ſhall be well and certainly paid; you ſhall be paid before-hand; every one of the Party who is able to read, and can ſpare a Shilling, ſhall be a Subſcriber; ſeveral Thouſands of each Production ſhall be ſent among their Friends through the Kingdom; the Work ſhall be reported admirable, ſublime, unanſwerable; ſhall ſerve to raiſe the ſinking Clamours, and confirm the Scandal, of introducing Popery and the Pretender, upon the Queen and her Miniſters.

Among the preſent Writers on that Side, I can recollect but three of any great Diſtinction, which are the *Flying Poſt*, Mr. *Dunton*, and the Author of the *Criſis*. The firſt of theſe ſeems to have been much ſunk in Reputation ſince the ſudden Retreat of the *only true genuine original Author*, *Mr.* Ridpath, who is celebrated by the *Dutch Gazetteer*, as *one of the beſt Pens in* England. Mr. *Dunton* hath been longer and more converſant in Books than any of the three, as well as more voluminous in his Productions: However, having employ'd his Studies in ſo great a Variety of other Subjects, he hath, I think, but lately turned his Genius to Politicks. His famous Tract, intituled, *Neck or Nothing*, muſt be

be allowed to be the ſhrewdeſt Piece, and written with the moſt Spirit of any which hath appeared from that Side ſince the Change of the Miniſtry: It is indeed a moſt cutting Satyr upon the Lord Treaſurer and Lord *Bolingbroke*, and I wonder none of our Friends ever undertook to anſwer it. I confeſs I was at firſt of the ſame Opinion with ſeveral good Judges, who, from the Style and Manner, ſuppoſe it to have iſſued from the ſharp Pen of the Earl of *Nottingham*; and I am ſtill apt to think it might receive his Lordſhip's laſt Hand. The third and principal of this Triumvirate is the Author of the *Criſis*; who, although he muſt yield to the *Flying Poſt* in Knowledge of the World, and Skill in Politicks, and to Mr. *Dunton* in Keenneſs of Satyr, and Variety of Reading; hath yet other Qualities enough to denominate him a Writer of a ſuperior Claſs to either; provided he would a little regard the Propriety and Diſpoſition of his Words, conſult the Grammatical Part, and get ſome Information in the Subject he intends to handle.

Omitting the generous Countenance and Encouragement that have been ſhewn to the Perſons and Productions of the two former Authors, I ſhall here only conſider the great Favour conferred upon the laſt. It hath been advertiſed for ſeveral Months in *The Engliſhman*, and other Papers, that a Pamphlet, called *The Criſis*, ſhould be publiſhed at a proper Time, in order to open the Eyes of the Nation. It was propoſed to be printed by Subſcription, Price a

Shilling. This was a little out of Form; becauſe Subſcriptions are uſually begged only for Books of great Price, and ſuch as are not likely to have a general Sale. Notice was likewiſe given of what this Pamphlet ſhould contain; only an Extract from certain Acts of Parliament relating to the Succeſſion, which at leaſt muſt ſink Nine-pence in the Shilling, and leave but Three for the Author's political Reflections; ſo that nothing very wonderful or deciſive could be reaſonably expected from this Performance. But, a Work was to be done, a heavy Writer to be encouraged, and accordingly many thouſand Copies were beſpoke. Neither could this be ſufficient; for when we expected to have our Bundles delivered us, all was ſtopt; the Friends to the Cauſe ſprang a new Project, and it was advertiſed that the *Criſis* could not appear till the Ladies had ſhewn their Zeal againſt the *Pretender*, as well as the Men; againſt the *Pretender* in the Bloom of his Youth, reported to be handſome, and endued with an Underſtanding exactly of a Size to pleaſe the Sex. I ſhould be glad to have ſeen a printed Liſt of the fair Subſcribers prefixed to this Pamphlet; by which the *Chevalier* might know he was ſo far from *pretending* to a Monarchy here, that he could not ſo much as *pretend* to a Miſtreſs.

At the deſtined Period, the firſt News we hear, is of a huge Train of Dukes, Earls, Viſcounts, Barons, Knights, Eſquires, Gentlemen, and others, going to *Sam. Buckley*'s, the Publiſher of the *Criſis*, to fetch home their Cargoes,

goes, in order to tranſmit them, by Dozens, Scores and Hundreds, into the ſeveral Counties, and thereby to prepare the Wills and Underſtandings of their Friends againſt the approaching Seſſions. Aſk any of them whether they have read it? They will anſwer, No; but they have ſent it every where, and it will do a World of Good. It is a Pamphlet, and a Pamphlet, they hear, againſt the Miniſtry; talks of Slavery, *France*, and the Pretender; they deſire no more; it will ſettle the Wavering, confirm the Doubtful, inſtruct the Ignorant, inflame the Clamorous, although it never be once looked into. I am told by thoſe who are expert in the Trade, that the Author and Bookſeller of this Twelve-penny Treatiſe, will be greater Gainers, than from one Edition of any Folio that hath been publiſhed theſe twenty Years. What needy Writer would not ſolicit to work under ſuch Maſters, who will pay us before-hand, take off as much of our Ware as we pleaſe, at our own Rates, and trouble not themſelves to examine either before or after they have bought it, whether it be ſtaple or no?

But, in order to illuſtrate the implicit Munificence of theſe noble Patrons, I cannot take a more effectual Method than by examining the Production itſelf; by which we ſhall eaſily find that it was never intended, farther than from the Noiſe, the Bulk, and the Title of *Criſis*, to do any Service to the factious Cauſe. The entire Piece conſiſts of a Title Page, a Dedica-

tion to the Clergy, a Preface, an Extract from certain Acts of Parliament, and about ten Pages of dry Reflections on the Proceedings of the Queen and her Servants, which his Coadjutors, the Earl of *Nottingham*, Mr. *Dunton*, and the *Flying Post*, had long ago set before us in a much clearer Light.

In Popish Countries, when some Impostor cries out, *A Miracle! A Miracle!* it is not done with a Hope or Intention of converting Hereticks, but confirming the deluded Vulgar in their Errors, and so the Cry goes round without examining into the Cheat. Thus the Whigs among us give about the Cry, *A Pamphlet! A Pamphlet! The Crisis! The Crisis!* not with a View of convincing their Adversaries, but to raise the Spirits of their Friends, recall their Stragglers, and unite their Numbers by Sound and Impudence; as Bees assemble and cling together by the Noise of Brass.

That no other Effect could be imagined or hoped for, by the Publication of this timely Treatise, will be manifest from some obvious Reflections upon the several Parts of it; wherein the Follies, the Falshoods, or the Absurdities, appear so frequent, that they may boldly contend for Number with the Lines.

When the Hawker holds this Pamphlet towards you, the first Words you perceive are, *The Crisis: Or, A Discourse*, &c. The Interpreter of *Suidas* gives four Translations of the Word *Crisis*; any of which may be as properly applied to this Author's Letter as to the Bailiff

or

of *Stockbridge*. Next, what he calls *A Diſcourſe*, conſiſts only of two Pages, prefixed to twenty-two more, which contain Extracts from Acts of Parliament; for as to the twelve laſt Pages, they are provided for by themſelves in the Title, under the Name of *Some Seaſonable Remarks on the Danger of a* Popiſh *Succeſſor*. Another Circumſtance worthy of our Information in the Title-Page, is, That the Crown hath been ſettled *by previous Acts*. I never heard of any Act of Parliament that was not previous to what it enacted, unleſs thoſe two, by which the Earl of *Strafford* and Sir *John Fenwick* loſt their Heads, may paſs for Exceptions. *A Diſcourſe, repreſenting from the moſt authentick Records*, &c. He hath borrowed this Expreſſion from ſome Writer, who probably underſtood the Words; but this Gentleman hath altogether miſapplied them; and, under Favour, he is wholly miſtaken; for a Heap of Extracts from ſeveral Acts of Parliament cannot be called a Diſcourſe; neither do I believe he copied them from the moſt authentick Records, which, as I take it, are lodged in the *Tower*, but out of ſome common printed Copy. I grant there is nothing material in all this, further than to ſhew the Generoſity of our Adverſaries in encouraging a Writer who cannot furniſh out ſo much as a Title Page with Propriety or common Senſe.

Next follows the Dedication to the Clergy of the Church of *England*, wherein the Modeſty and the

the Meaning of the first Paragraphs are hardly to be matched. He tells them, he hath made a *Comment upon the Acts of* Settlement, which he *lays before them, and conjures them to recommend in their Writings and Discourses to their Fellow Subjects:* and he doth all this, *out of a just Deference to their great Power and Influence.* This is the right Whig-Scheme of directing the Clergy what to preach. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s Jurisdiction extends no farther than over his own Province; but the Author of the *Crisis* constitutes himself Vicar-General over the whole Clergy of the Church of *England.* The Bishops, in their Letters or Speeches to their own Clergy, proceed no farther than to *Exhortation*; but this Writer *conjures* the whole Clergy of the Church to *recommend* his *Comment upon the Laws* of the Land, *in their Writings and Discourses.* I would fain know, who made him a *Commentator upon the Laws* of the Land; after which it will be time enough to ask him, by what Authority he directs the Clergy *to recommend his* Comments from the Pulpit or the Press?

He tells the Clergy *there are two Circumstances which place the Minds of the People under their Direction*; the first Circumstance is their Education; the second Circumstance is the Tenths of our Lands. This last, according to the *Latin* Phrase, is spoken *ad invidiam*; for he knows well enough, they have not a twentieth: But if you take it in his own Way, the Land-

Landlord has nine Parts in ten of the People's Minds under his Direction. Upon this Rock the Author before us is perpetually ſplitting, as often as he ventures out beyond the narrow Bounds of his Literature. He hath a confuſed Remembrance of Words ſince he left the Univerſity, but hath loſt half their Meaning, and puts them together with no Regard, except to their Cadence; as I remember a Fellow nailed up Maps in a Gentleman's Cloſet, ſome ſideling, others upſide down, the better to adjuſt them to the Pannels.

I am ſenſible it is of little Conſequence to their Cauſe, whether this Defender of it underſtands Grammar or no; and if what he would fain ſay, diſcovered him to be a Wellwiſher to Reaſon or Truth, I would be ready to make large Allowance. But when with great Difficulty I deſcry a Compoſition of Rancour and Falſhood, intermixed with plauſible Nonſenſe, I feel a Struggle between Contempt and Indignation, at ſeeing the Character of a *Cenſor*, a *Guardian*, an *Engliſhman*, a *Commentator* on the *Laws*, an *Inſtructor* of the *Clergy*, aſſumed by a Child of Obſcurity, without one ſingle Qualification to ſupport them.

This Writer, who either affects, or is commanded of late, to copy after the Biſhop of *Sarum*, hath, out of the Pregnancy of his Invention, found out an old Way of inſinuating the groſſeſt Reflections under the Appearance of Admonitions: and is ſo judicious a Follower of the Prelate, that he taxes the Clergy for

in-

inflaming their People with Apprehensions of Danger to them and THEIR *Constitution, from Men who are innocent of such Designs*; when he must needs confess the whole *Design* of his Pamphlet is, to *inflame the People with Apprehensions of Danger* from the present Ministry, whom *we* believe to be at least as *innocent Men* as the last.

What shall I say to a Pamphlet, where the Malice and Falshood of every Line would require an Answer, and where the Dulness and Absurdities will not deserve one?

By his pretending to have always maintained an inviolable Respect to the Clergy, he would insinuate, that those Papers among the *Tatlers* and *Spectators*, where the whole Order is abused, were not his own. I will appeal to all who know the Flatness of his Style, and the Barrenness of his Invention, whether he doth not grosly prevaricate? Was he ever able to walk without Leading-strings, or swim without Bladders, without being discovered by his hobbling and his sinking? Hath he adhered to his Character in this Paper called *The Englishman*, whereof he is allowed to be the sole Author, without any Competition? What does he think of the Letter signed by himself, which relates to *Molesworth*, in whose Defence he affronts the whole Convocation of *Ireland*.

It is a wise Maxim, that, because the Clergy are no Civil Lawyers, they ought not to preach Obedience to Governors; and therefore they ought not to preach Temperance, because they are no Physicians. Examine all this Author's

thor's Writings, and then point me out a Divine who knoweth leſs of the Conſtitution of *England* than he; witneſs thoſe many egregious Blunders in his late Papers, where he pretended to dabble in the Subject.

But the Clergy have, it ſeems, imbibed their Notions of Power and Obedience abhorrent from our Laws, *from the pompous Ideas of Imperial Greatneſs, and the Submiſſion to abſolute Emperors.* This is groſs Ignorance, below a School-boy in his *Lucius Florus.* The *Roman* Hiſtory wherein Lads are inſtructed, reacheth little above Eight hundred Years, and the Authors do every where inſtil Republican Principles; and from the Account of nine in twelve of the firſt Emperors, we learn to have a Deteſtation againſt Tyranny. The *Greeks* carry this Point yet a great deal higher, which none can be ignorant of, who hath read or heard them quoted. This gave *Hobbes* the Occaſion of advancing a Poſition directly contrary, That the Youth of *England* were corrupted in their political Principles by reading the Hiſtories of *Rome* and *Greece,* which, having been writ under Republicks, taught the Readers to have ill Notions of Monarchy. In this Aſſertion there was ſomething ſpecious, but that advanced by the *Criſis* could only iſſue from the profoundeſt Ignorance.

But, would you know his Scheme of Education for young Gentlemen at the Univerſity? It is, that they ſhould ſpend their Time in peruſing thoſe Acts of Parliament, whereof his Pamphlet

Pamphlet is an Extract, which, *if it had been done, the Kingdom would not be in its preſent Condition, but every Member ſent into the World thus inſtructed, ſince the Revolution, would have been an Advocate for our Rights and Liberties.*

Here now is a Project for getting more Money by the *Criſis*; to have it read by Tutors in the Univerſity. I thoroughly agree with him, that if our Students had been thus employed for twenty Years paſt, *the Kingdom had not been in its preſent Condition:* But we have too many of ſuch Proficients already among the young Nobility and Gentry, who have gathered up their Politicks from Chocolate-houſes, and factious Clubs, and who, if they had ſpent their Time in hard Study at *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, we might indeed have ſaid, that the factious Part of this Kingdom *had not been in its preſent Condition*, or have ſuffered themſelves to be taught, that a few Acts of Parliament relating to the Succeſſion are preferable to all other *Civil Inſtitutions* whatſoever. Neither did I ever before hear, that an Act of Parliament relating to one particular Point could be called a Civil Inſtitution.

He ſpends almoſt a Quarto Page in telling the Clergy, that they will be certainly perjured if they bring in the *Pretender*, whom they have abjured; and he wiſely reminds them, that they have ſworn without Equivocation or mental Reſervation: otherwiſe the Clergy might think, that as ſoon as they received the

Pretender,

Pretender, and turned *Papiſts*, they would be free from their Oath.

This honeſt, civil, ingenious Gentleman knows in his Conſcience, that there are not ten Clergymen in *England* (except the Nonjurors) who do not abhor the Thoughts of the *Pretender* reigning over us, much more than himſelf. But this is the Spittle of the Biſhop of *Sarum*, which our Author licks up, and ſwallows, and then coughs out again, with an Addition of his own Phlegm. I would fain ſuppoſe the Body of the Clergy were to return an Anſwer by one of their Members, to theſe worthy Counſellors. I conceive it might be in the following Terms:

My Lord and Gentleman,

"The Clergy command me to give you "Thanks for your Advice; and if they knew "any Crimes, from which either of you were "as free, as they are from thoſe which you "ſo earneſtly exhort them to avoid, they would "return your Favour as near as poſſible in "the ſame Style and Manner. However, "that your Advice may not be wholly loſt, "particularly that Part of it which relates to "the *Pretender*, they deſire you would apply "it to more proper Perſons. Look among "your own Leaders; examine which of them "engaged in a Plot to reſtore the late King "*James*, and received Pardons under his "Seal; examine which of them have been "ſince tampering with his pretended Son, "and, to gratify their Ambition, their Ava-

" rice, their Malice and Revenge, are now " willing to reſtore him at the Expence of the " Religion and Liberty of their Country. " Retire, good my Lord, with your Pupil, " and let us hear no more of theſe hypocriti- " cal Inſinuations, leſt the QUEEN and Mi- " niſters, who have been hitherto content with " only *diſappointing* the lurking Villainies of " your Faction, may be at laſt provoked to " *expoſe* them."

But his Reſpect for the Clergy is ſuch, that he doth not inſinuate as if they really had theſe evil Diſpoſitions; he only *inſinuates*, that they give *too much Cauſe* for ſuch *Inſinuations*.

I will, upon Occaſion, ſtrip ſome of his *Inſinuations* from their Generality and Soleciſms, and drag them into the Light. His Dedication to the Clergy is full of them, becauſe here he endeavours to mould up his Rancour and Civility together; by which Conſtraint, he is obliged to ſhorten his Paragraphs, and to place them in ſuch a Light, that they obſcure one another. Suppoſing therefore, that I have ſcraped off his good Manners, in order to come at his Meaning, which lies under; he tells the Clergy, that the Favour of the QUEEN and her Miniſters is but a *Colour of Zeal towards them*; that the People were deluded by a groundleſs Cry of the Church's Danger at *Sacheverel*'s Trial; that the Clergy, as they are *Men of Senſe and Honour*, ought to preach this Truth to their ſeveral Congregations, and let them know, that the true Deſign of the

preſent

preſent Men in Power, in that and all their Proceedings ſince in Favour of the Church, was to bring in *Popery*, *France*, and the *Pretender*, and to enſlave all *Europe*, contrary to the *Laws of our Country*, *the Power of the Legiſlature*, *the Faith of Nations*, *and the Honour of God*.

I cannot ſee why the Clergy, as *Men of Senſe and Men of Honour* (for he appeals not to them as Men of *Religion*) ſhould not be allowed to know when they are in Danger, and be able to gueſs whence it comes, and who are their Protectors. The Deſign of their Deſtruction, indeed, may have been projected in the Dark; but when all was ripe, their Enemies proceeded to ſo many Overt-Acts in the Face of the Nation, that it was obvious to the meaneſt People, who wanted no other Motives to rouze them. On the other Side, can this Author, or the wiſeſt of his Faction, aſſign one ſingle Act of the preſent Miniſtry any ways tending towards bringing in the *Pretender*, or to weaken the Poſſeſſion of the Houſe of *Hanover?* Obſerve then the Reaſonableneſs of this Gentleman's Advice: The Clergy, the Gentry, and the common People had the utmoſt Apprehenſions of Danger to the Church under the late Miniſtry; yet then it was the greateſt Impiety to *inflame the People with any ſuch Apprehenſions*. His Danger of a *Popiſh* Succeſſor, from any Steps of the preſent Miniſtry, is an artificial Calumny, raiſed and ſpread againſt the Conviction of the Inventors; pretended to be

believed only by thoſe who abhor the Conſtitution in Church and State; an obdurate Faction, who compaſs Heaven and Earth to reſtore themſelves upon the Ruin of their Country; yet here our Author *exhorts the Clergy* to preach up this imaginary Danger to their People, and diſturb the publick Peace with his ſtrained ſeditious Comments.

But how comes this gracious Licence to the Clergy from the *Whigs*, to concern themſelves with Politicks of any ſort, although it be only the Gloſſes and Comments of Mr. *Steele?* The Speeches of the Managers at *Sacheverel*'s Trial, particularly thoſe of *Stanhope*, *Lechmere*, *King*, *Parker*, and ſome others, ſeemed to deliver a different Doctrine. Nay, this very Dedication complains of *ſome in Holy Orders, who have made the Conſtitution of their Country* (in which and the *Coptick* Mr. *Steele* is equally ſkilled) *a very little Part of their Study, and yet made Obedience and Government the frequent Subjects of their Diſcourſes.* This Difficulty is eaſily ſolved; for, by *Politicks* they mean *Obedience.* Mr. *Hoadly*, who is a Champion for Reſiſtance, was never charged for meddling out of his Function: *Hugh Peters*, and his Brethren, in the Times of Uſurpation, had full Liberty to preach up Sedition and Rebellion; and ſo here Mr. *Steele* iſſues out his Licence to the Clergy to preach up the *Danger of a Popiſh Pretender*, in Defiance of the QUEEN and her Adminiſtration.

Every

Every Whiffler in a laced Coat, who frequents the Chocolate-houſe, and is able to ſpell the Title of a Pamphlet, ſhall talk of the Conſtitution with as much Plauſibility as this very ſolemn Writer, and with as good a Grace blame the Clergy for meddling with Politicks, which they do not underſtand. I have known many of theſe able Politicians, furniſhed, before they were of Age, with all the neceſſary Topicks of their Faction, and, by the Help of about twenty Polyſyllables, capable of maintaining an Argument that would ſhine in the *Criſis*; whoſe Author gathered up his little Stock from the ſame Schools, and hath writ from no other Fund.

But, after all, it is not clear to me, whether this Gentleman addreſſeth himſelf to the Clergy of *England* in general, or only to thoſe very few (hardly enough, in caſe of a Change, to ſupply the Mortality of thoſe *Self-denying Prelates* he celebrates) who are in his Principles, and, among theſe, only ſuch as live in and about *London*; which probably will reduce the Number to about half a dozen at moſt. I ſhould incline to gueſs the latter; becauſe he tells them, they *are ſurrounded by a learned, wealthy, knowing Gentry, who know with what Firmneſs, Self-denial, and Charity, the Biſhops adhered to the publick Cauſe, and what Contumelies thoſe Clergymen have undergone, &c. who adhered to the Cauſe of Truth.* By thoſe Terms, *the publick Cauſe, and the Cauſe of Truth*, he underſtands the *Cauſe* of the Whigs, in Oppo-

ſition to the QUEEN and her Servants: Therefore by the *learned, wealthy, and knowing Gentry*, he muſt underſtand the *Bank* and *Eaſt-India Company*, and thoſe other Merchants and Citizens within the Bills of Mortality, who have been ſtrenuous againſt the Church and Crown, and whoſe Spirit of Faction hath lately got the better of their Intereſt. For, let him ſearch all the reſt of the Kingdom, he will find the *ſurrounded* Clergy, and the *ſurrounding* Gentry, wholly Strangers to the Merits of thoſe Prelates; and adhering to a very different *Cauſe of Truth*, as will ſoon, I hope, be manifeſt, by a fair Appeal to the Repreſentatives of both.

It was very unneceſſary in this Writer to beſpeak the Treatment of *Contempt and Deriſion*, which the Clergy are to expect from his Faction, whenever they come into Power. I believe, that venerable Body is in very little Concern after what Manner their moſt mortal Enemies intend to *treat* them, whenever it ſhall pleaſe GOD for our Sins to viſit us with ſo fatal an Event; which I hope it will be the united Endeavours both of Clergy and Laity to hinder. It would be ſome Support to this Hope, if I could have any Opinion of his predicting Talent (which ſome have aſcribed to People of this Author's Character) where he tells us, That *Noiſe and Wrath will not always paſs for Zeal.* What other Inſtances of Zeal hath this Gentleman, or the reſt of his Party, been able to produce? If Clamour be *Noiſe*, it is but open-

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ing our Ears to know from what Side it comes; and, if Sedition, Scurrility, Slander, and Calumny, be the Fruit of *Wrath*, read the Pamphlets and Papers iſſuing from the *Zealots* of that Faction, or viſit their Clubs and Coffee-houſes, in order to form a Judgment of the Tree.

When Mr. *Steele* tells us, *We have a Religion that wants no Support from the Enlargement of Secular Power, but is well ſupported by the Wiſdom and Piety of its Preachers, and its own native Truth*; it would be good to know what Religion he profeſſeth: For the Clergy to whom he ſpeaks will never allow him a Member of the Church of *England*. They cannot agree, that the *Truth* of the Goſpel, and the *Piety* and *Wiſdom* of its Preachers, are a ſufficient *Support*, in an evil Age, againſt Infidelity, Faction, and Vice, without the Aſſiſtance of *Secular Power*; unleſs GOD would pleaſe to confer the Gift of Miracles on thoſe who wait at the Altar. I believe, they venture to go a little further, and think, That, upon ſome Occaſions, they want a little *Enlargement of Aſſiſtance from the Secular Power*, againſt *Atheiſts*, *Deiſts*, *Socinians*, and other Hereticks. Every firſt Sunday in *Lent*, a Part of the Liturgy is read to the People, in the Preface to which the Church declares her Wiſhes for the reſtoring of that Diſcipline ſhe formerly had, and which, for ſome Years paſt, hath been more wanted than ever. But of this no more, leſt it might *inſinuate Jealouſies between the Clergy and Laity*; which, the Author tells us, is the *Policy of vain ambitious*

ambitious Men among the former, in hopes to derive from their Order a Veneration they cannot deserve from their Virtue. If this be their Method for procuring Veneration, it is the most singular that ever was thought on; and the Clergy would then indeed have no more to do with Politicks of any sort than Mr. *Steele* or his Faction will allow them.

Having thus toiled through his Dedication, I proceed to consider his Preface, which, half consisting of Quotations, will be so much the sooner got through. It is a very unfair thing in any Writer to employ his *Ignorance* and *Malice* together; because it gives his Answerer double Work: It is like the sort of Sophistry that the Logicians call *two Mediums*, which are never allowed in the same Syllogism. A Writer with a weak Head, and a corrupt Heart, is an Over-match for any single Pen; like a hireling Jade, dull and vicious, hardly able to stir, yet offering at every Turn to kick.

He begins his Preface with such an Account of the Original of Power, and the Nature of Civil Institutions, as I am confident was never once imagined by any Writer upon Government, from *Plato* to Mr. *Locke*. Give me Leave to transcribe his first Paragraph. *I never saw an unruly Crowd of People cool by Degrees into Temper, but it gave me an Idea of the Original of Power, and the Nature of Civil Institutions. One particular Man has usually in those Cases, from the Dignity of his Appearance,*

Appearance, or other Qualities known or imagined by the Multitude, been received into ſudden Favour and Authority, the Occaſion of their Diſference has been repreſented to him, and the Matter referred to his Deciſion.

I have known a Poet, who never was out of *England*, introduce a Fact by way of Simile, which could probably no where happen nearer than in the Plains of *Libya*; and begin with, *So have I ſeen*. Such a Fiction I ſuppoſe may be juſtified by Poetical Licence; yet *Virgil* is much more modeſt. This Paragraph of Mr. *Steele's*, which he ſets down as an Obſervation of his own, is a miſerable mangled Tranſlation of ſix Verſes out of that famous Poet, who ſpeaks after this Manner: *As when a Sedition ariſes in a great Multitude, &c. Then, if they ſee a wiſe grave Man, &c. Virgil*, who lived but a little after the Ruin of the *Roman* Republick, where Seditions often happened, and the Force of Oratory was great among the People, made uſe of a Simile, which Mr. *Steele* turns into a Fact, after ſuch a manner, as if he had ſeen it an hundred times; and builds upon it a Syſtem of the Origin of Government. When the Vulgar here in *England* aſſemble in a riotous manner, (which is not very frequent of late Years) the Prince takes a much more effectual Way than that of ſending Orators to appeaſe them: But Mr. *Steele* imagines ſuch a Crowd of People as this, where there is no Government at all; their *Unruline ſs* quelled, and their Paſſions *cooled*, by a particular Man, whoſe

whoſe great Qualities they had known before. Such an Aſſembly muſt have ariſen ſuddenly from the Earth, and the *Man of Authority* dropt from the Clouds; for without ſome previous Form of Government, no ſuch Crowd did ever yet aſſemble, or could poſſibly be acquainted with the Merits and Dignity of any *particular Man* among them. But, to purſue his Scheme: This Man of Authority, who *cools* the *Crowd* by Degrees, and to whom they all appeal, muſt of Neceſſity prove either an open or *clandeſtine Tyrant*. A *clandeſtine Tyrant* I take to be a King of *Brentford*, who keeps his Army in Diſguiſe; and whenever he happens either to die naturally, be knockt on the Head, or depoſed, the People *calmly take further Meaſures, and improve upon what was begun under his unlimited Power*. All this our Author tells us, with extreme Propriety, *is what ſeems reaſonable to common Senſe*; that is, in other Words, it ſeems *reaſonable* to *Reaſon*. This is what he calls *giving an Idea of the Original of Power, and the Nature of Civil Inſtitutions*. To which I anſwer with great Phlegm, that I defy any Man alive to ſhew me in double the Number of Lines, although writ by the ſame Author, ſuch a complicated Ignorance in Hiſtory, human Nature, or Politicks, as well as in the ordinary Proprieties of Thought or of Style.

But, it ſeems, theſe profound Speculations were only premiſed to introduce ſome Quotations

tions in Favour of *Reſiſtance*. What hath *Reſiſtance* to do with the Succeſſion of the Houſe of *Hanover*, that the Whig Writers ſhould perpetually affect to tag them together? I can conceive nothing elſe, but that their Hatred to the QUEEN and Miniſtry puts them upon Thoughts of introducing the Succeſſor by *another* Revolution. Are Caſes of *extreme Neceſſity* to be produced as common Maxims by which we are always to proceed? Should not theſe Gentlemen ſometimes inculcate the general Rule of Obedience, and not always the Exception of Reſiſtance? Since the former hath been the perpetual Dictate of all Laws both Divine and Civil, and the latter is ſtill in Diſpute.

I ſhall meddle with none of the Paſſages he cites, to prove the Lawfulneſs of reſiſting Princes, except that from the preſent Lord Chancellor's Speech, in Defence of Dr. *Sacheverel*: That *there are extraordinary Caſes, Caſes of Neceſſity, which are implied, although not expreſſed, in the general Rule* [of Obedience.] Theſe Words, very clear in themſelves, Mr. *Steele* explains into Nonſenſe; which in any other Author I ſhould ſuſpect to have been intended as a Reflection upon as great a Perſon as ever filled or adorned that high Station: But I am ſo well acquainted with his Pen, that I much more wonder how it can trace out a true Quotation than a falſe Comment. To ſee him treat my Lord *Harcourt* with ſo much Civility looks indeed a little

little ſuſpicious, and, as if he had Malice in his Heart. He calls his Lordſhip *a very great Man*, and *a great living Authority*; places himſelf in Company with General *Stanhope* and Mr. *Hoadley*; and, in ſhort, takes the moſt effectual Method in his Power of ruining his Lordſhip in the Opinion of every Man who is wiſe or good. I can only tell my Lord *Harcourt*, for his Comfort, that theſe Praiſes are incumbered with the Doctrine of *Reſiſtance*, and the true Revolution Principles; and provided he will not allow Mr. *Steele* for his Commentator, he may hope to recover the Honour of being libelled again, as well as his Sovereign, and Fellow-Servants.

We now come to the *Criſis*; where we meet with two Pages, by way of Introduction to thoſe Extracts from Acts of Parliament, that conſtitute the Body of his Pamphlet. This Introduction begins with a Definition of Liberty, and then proceeds in a Panegyrick upon that great Bleſſing. His Panegyrick is made up of half a dozen Shreds, like a School-boy's Theme, beaten, general Topicks, where any other Man alive might wander ſecurely; but this Politician, by venturing to vary the good old Phraſes, and give them a new Turn, commits an hundred Soleciſms and Abſurdities. The weighty Truths which he endeavours to preſs upon his Reader are ſuch as theſe; That *Liberty*

is a very good thing; that *without Liberty we cannot be free*; that *Health is good, and Strength is good, but Liberty is better than either*; that *no Man can be happy without the Liberty of doing whatever his own Mind tells him is beſt*; that *Men of Quality love Liberty, and common People love Liberty*; even Women and Children love Liberty; and you cannot pleaſe them better than by letting them do what they pleaſe. Had Mr. *Steele* contented himſelf to deliver theſe and the like Maxims in ſuch intelligible Terms, I could have found where we agreed and where we differed. But, let us hear ſome of thoſe Axioms, as he hath involved them. *We cannot poſſeſs our Souls with Pleaſure and Satisfaction, except we preſerve in ourſelves that ineſtimable Bleſſing which we call Liberty. By Liberty I deſire to be underſtood to mean the Happineſs of Men's Living, &c.*---The true *Life of Man conſiſts in conducting it according to his own juſt Sentiments and innocent Inclinations.---Man's Being is degraded below that of a free Agent, when his Affections and Paſſions are no longer governed by the Dictates of his own Mind.---Without Liberty, our Health* (among other Things) *may be at the Will of a Tyrant, employed to our own Ruin and that of our Fellow-Creatures.* If there be any of theſe Maxims which is not groſly defective in Truth, in Senſe, or in Grammar, I will allow them to paſs for uncontroulable. In the firſt, omitting the Pedantry of the whole Expreſſion, there are not

above one or two Nations in the World where any one Man can *poſſeſs his Soul with Pleaſure and Satisfaction*. In the ſecond, He *deſires to be underſtood to mean*; that is, he deſires to be meant to mean, or to be underſtood to underſtand. In the third, *The Life of Man conſiſts in conducting* his Life. In the fourth, he affirms, That *Mens Beings are degraded when their Paſſions are no longer governed by the Dictates of their own Minds*; directly contrary to the Leſſons of all Moraliſts and Legiſlators; who agree unanimouſly, that the Paſſions of Men muſt be under the Government of Reaſon and Law; neither are Laws of any other Uſe than to correct the Irregularity of our Affections. In the laſt, *our Health is ruinous to ourſelves and other Men when a Tyrant pleaſes*; which I leave to him to make out.

I cannot ſufficiently commend our Anceſtors for tranſmitting to us the Bleſſing of Liberty; yet having *laid out their Blood and Treaſure upon the Purchaſe*, I do not ſee how they *acted parſimoniouſly*; becauſe I can conceive nothing more generous than that of employing our Blood and Treaſure for the Service of others. But I am ſuddenly ſtruck with the Thought, that I have found his Meaning: Our Anceſtors acted parſimoniouſly, becauſe they only ſpent their own Treaſure for the Good of their Poſterity; whereas we ſquandered away the Treaſures of our Poſterity too; but whether they will be thankful, and think it was done

done for the Preſervation of their Liberty, muſt be left to themſelves for a Deciſion.

I verily believe, although I could not prove it in *Weſtminſter Hall* before a *Lord Chief Juſtice*, that by *Enemies to our Conſtitution*, and *Enemies to our preſent Eſtabliſhment*, *Mr.* Steele *would deſire to be underſtood to mean* My Lord Treaſurer and the reſt of the Miniſtry: *By thoſe who are grown ſupine in proportion to the Danger to which our Liberty is every Day more expoſed*, I ſhould gueſs he means the Tories: And, by *honeſt Men who ought to look up with a Spirit that becomes Honeſty*, he underſtands the Whigs. I likewiſe believe, he would take it ill, or think me ſtupid, if I did not thus expound him. I ſay then, that, according to this Expoſition, the four great Officers of State, together with the reſt of the Cabinet-Council (except the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) *are Enemies to our Eſtabliſhment, making artful and open Attacks upon our Conſtitution*, and are now *practiſing indirect Arts and mean Subtilties, to weaken the Security of thoſe Acts of Parliament* for ſettling the Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*. The firſt, and moſt notorious, of theſe Criminals is *Robert Harley* Earl of *Oxford*, Lord High Treaſurer, who is reputed to be Chief Miniſter: The ſecond is, *James Butler* Duke of *Ormonde*, who commands the Army, and deſigns to employ it in bringing over the *Pretender*: The third is, *Henry St. John* Lord Viſcount *Bolingbroke*, Secretary of State, who muſt be ſuppoſed

to hold a conſtant Correſpondence at the Court of *Bar le Duc*, as the late Earl of *Godolphin* did with that at *St. Germains*: And, to avoid Tediouſneſs, Mr. *Bromley* and the reſt are employed in their ſeveral Diſtricts to the ſame End. Theſe are the Opinions which Mr. *Steele* and his Faction, under the Direction of their Leaders, are endeavouring with all their Might to propagate among the People of *England*, concerning the preſent Miniſtry; with what Reſervation to the Honour, Wiſdom, or Juſtice of the QUEEN, I cannot determine; who, by her own free Choice, after a long Experience of their Abilities and Integrity, and in Compliance to the general Wiſhes of her People, called them to her Service. Such an Accuſation, againſt Perſons in ſo high Truſt, ſhould require, I think, at leaſt, one ſingle Overt-Act to make it good. If there be no other Choice of Perſons fit to ſerve the Crown, without Danger from the *Pretender*, except among thoſe who are called the Whig Party, the *Hanover* Succeſſion is then indeed in a very deſperate State: That illuſtrious Family will have almoſt Nine in Ten of the Kingdom againſt it, and thoſe principally of the Landed Intereſt; which is moſt to be depended upon in ſuch a Nation as ours.

I have now got as far as his Extracts, which I ſhall not be at the Pains of comparing with the Originals, but ſuppoſe he hath gotten them fairly tranſcribed: I only think, that whoever is Patentee for printing Acts of Parliament

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may have a fair Action againſt him, for Invaſion of Property: But this is none of my Buſineſs to enquire into.

After two and twenty Pages ſpent in reciting Acts of Parliament, *he deſires Leave to repeat the Hiſtory and Progreſs of the Union*; upon which I have ſome few things to obſerve.

This *Work*, he tells us, *was unſucceſsfully attempted by ſeveral of her Majeſty's Predeceſſors*; although I † do not remember it was ever thought on by any except King *James* the Firſt, and the late King *William*. I have read, indeed, that ſome ſmall Overtures were made by the former of theſe Princes, towards an Union between the two Kingdoms, but rejected, with Indignation and Contempt, by the *Engliſh*: And the Hiſtorian tells us, that how degenerate and corrupt ſoever the Court and Parliament then were, they would not give Ear to ſo infamous a Propoſal. I do not find that any of the ſucceeding Princes, before the Revolution, ever reſumed the Deſign; becauſe it was a Project for which there could not poſſibly be aſſigned the leaſt Reaſon or Neceſſity: For I defy any Mortal to name one ſingle Advantage that *England* could ever expect from ſuch an Union.

† *The Author's Memory failed him a little in this Aſſertion, as one of his Anſwerers obſerved.*

But towards the End of the late King's Reign, upon Apprehenſions of the Want of Iſſue from him, or the Princeſs *Anne*, a Propoſition for uniting both Kingdoms was begun; becauſe *Scotland* had not ſetled their Crown upon the Houſe of *Hanover*, but left themſelves at large, in hopes to make their Advantage: And it was thought highly dangerous to leave that Part of the Iſland, inhabited by a poor, fierce, Northern People, at Liberty to put themſelves under a different King. However, the Oppoſition to this Work was ſo great, that it could not be overcome until ſome Time after her preſent Majeſty came to the Crown; when by the Weakneſs, or Corruption of a certain Miniſter, ſince dead, an Act of Parliament was obtained for the *Scots*, which gave them Leave to arm themſelves; and ſo the Union became neceſſary, not for any actual Good it could poſſibly do us, but to avoid a probable Evil; and, at the ſame Time, ſave an obnoxious Miniſter's Head; who was ſo wiſe as to take the firſt Opportunity of procuring a general Pardon, by Act of Parliament; becauſe he could not, with ſo much Decency and Safety, deſire a particular one for himſelf. Theſe Facts are well enough known to the whole Kingdom. And, I remember, diſcourſing above ſix Years ago, with the moſt conſiderable * Perſon of the adverſe Party, and a great Promoter of the Union, he frankly

* *Lord* SOMERS.

frankly owned to me, That this Neceſſity, brought upon us by the wrong Management of the Earl of *Godolphin*, was the only Cauſe of the Union.

Therefore I am ready to grant two Points to the Author of the *Criſis*: *Firſt*, that the Union became neceſſary for the Cauſe above related; becauſe it prevented this Iſland from being governed by two Kings; which *England* would never have ſuffered; and it might probably have coſt us a War, of a Year or two, to reduce the *Scots*. *Secondly*, that it would be dangerous to break this Union, at leaſt in this Juncture, while there is a *Pretender* abroad, who might probably lay hold of ſuch an Opportunity. And this made me wonder a little at the Spirit of Faction laſt Summer among ſome People, who having been the great Promoters of the *Union*, and ſeveral of them the principal Gainers by it, could yet proceed ſo far as to propoſe, in the Houſe of Lords, that it ſhould be diſſolved; while, at the ſame time, thoſe Peers, who had ever oppoſed it in the Beginning, were then for preſerving it, upon the Reaſon I have juſt aſſigned, and which the Author of the *Criſis* hath likewiſe taken Notice of.

But, when he tells us, *the Engliſhmen ought, in Generoſity, to be more particularly careful in preſerving this Union*, he argues like himſelf. *The late Kingdom of* Scotland (ſaith he) *had as numerous a Nobility as* England, *&c.* They had

had indeed; and to that we owe one of the great and neceſſary Evils of the Union, upon the Foot it now ſtands. Their Nobility is indeed ſo numerous, that the whole Revenues of their Country would be hardly able to maintain them according to the Dignity of their Titles; and, what is infinitely worſe, they are never likely to be extinct until the laſt Period of all Things; becauſe the greateſt Part of them deſcend to Heirs general. I imagine a Perſon of Quality prevailed on to marry a Woman much his Inferior, and without a Groat to her Fortune, and her Friends arguing, ſhe was as good as her Husband, becauſe ſhe brought him as numerous a Family of Relations and Servants, as ſhe found in his Houſe. *Scotland*, in the Taxes, is obliged to contribute one Penny for every forty Pence laid upon *England*; and the Repreſentatives they ſend to Parliament are about a thirteenth. Every other *Scotch* Peer hath all the Privileges of an *Engliſh* one, except that of ſitting in Parliament, and even Precedence before all of the ſame Title that ſhall be created for the Time to come. The Penſions and Employments poſſeſſed by the Natives of that Country now among us do amount to more than the whole Body of their Nobility ever ſpent at home; and all the Money they raiſe upon the Publick, is hardly ſufficient to defray their Civil and Military Liſts. I could point out ſome with great Titles, who affected to appear very vigorous for diſſolving

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the Union, although their whole Revenues before that Period would have ill maintained a *Welsh* Justice of the Peace; and have since gathered more Money than ever any *Scotchman*, who had not travelled, could form an Idea of.

I have only one thing more to say upon Occasion of the Union Act; which is, that the Author of the *Crisis* may be fairly proved, from his own Quotations, to be guilty of HIGH TREASON. In a Paper of his called *The Englishman*, of *October* 29, there is an Advertisement about taking in Subscriptions for printing the *Crisis*, where the Title is published at length with the following Clause, which the Author thought fit to drop in the Publication; [*And that no Power on Earth can bar, alter, or make void the present Settlement of the Crown, &c.* By *Richard Steele.*] In his Extract of an Act of Parliament made since the Union, it appears to be *High Treason for any Person, by Writing or Printing, to maintain and affirm, that the Kings or Queens of this Realm, with and by the Authority of Parliament, are not able to make Laws and Statutes of sufficient Force and Validity to limit and bind the Crown, and the Descent, Limitation, Inheritance, and Government thereof.* This Act being subsequent to the Settlement of the Crown confirmed at the Union, it is probable some Friend of the Author advised him to leave out those *treasonable* Words in the printed Title-Page, which he had before published in the *Advertisement*; and according-

accordingly we find, that in the Treatiſe itſelf, he only *offers it to every good Subject's Conſideration, whether this Article of the Settlement of the Crown is not as firm as the Union itſelf, and as the Settlement of Epiſcopacy in* England, *&c.* And he thinks the *Scots underſtood it ſo, that the Succeſſion to the Crown was never to be controverted.*

Theſe I take to be only treaſonable Inſinuations; but the Advertiſement before mentioned is actually *High Treaſon*; for which the Author ought to be proſecuted, if that would avail any thing under a Juriſdiction where curſing the Queen is not above the Penalty of Twenty Marks.

Nothing is more notorious than that the *Whigs*, of late Years, both in their Writings and Diſcourſes, have affected upon all Occaſions to allow the Legitimacy of the *Pretender*. This makes me a little wonder to ſee our Author labouring to prove the contrary, by producing all the popular Chat of thoſe Times, and other ſolid Arguments from *Fuller*'s Narrative: But, it muſt be ſuppoſed, that this Gentleman acts by the Commands of his Superiors, who have thought fit, at this Juncture, to iſſue out new Orders, for Reaſons beſt known to themſelves. I wiſh they had been more clear in their Directions to him upon that weighty Point, Whether the Settlement of the Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover* be alterable or no. I have obſerved where, in his former Pages, he gives it in the Negative; but

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in the turning of a Leaf, he hath wholly changed his Mind. He tells us, *He wonders there can be found any* Briton *weak enough to contend againſt a Power in their own Nation, which is practiſed in a much greater Degree in other States*: And *how hard it is, that* Britain *ſhould be debarred the Privilege of eſtabliſhing its own Security, by relinquiſhing only thoſe Branches of the Royal Line which threaten it with Deſtruction; whilſt other Nations never ſcruple upon leſs Occaſions to go much greater Lengths*; of which he produceth Inſtances in *France, Spain, Sicily*, and *Sardinia*; and then adds, *Can* Great Britain *help to advance Men to other Thrones, and have no Power in limiting its own?* How can a Senator, capable of *doing Honour to Sir* Thomas Hanmer, be guilty of ſuch ridiculous Inconſiſtencies? The Author of the *Conduct of the Allies* (ſays he) *hath dared to drop Inſinuations about altering the Succeſſion.* The Author of the *Conduct of the Allies* writes Senſe and Engliſh; neither of which the Author of the *Criſis* underſtands. The former thinks it *wrong, in point of Policy, to call in a Foreign Power to be Guarantee of our Succeſſion, becauſe it puts it out of the Power of our own Legiſlature to change our Succeſſion, without the Conſent of that Prince or State who is Guarantee, whatever Neceſſity may happen in future Times.* Now, if it be High Treaſon to affirm by Writing, that the Legiſlature hath no ſuch Power; and if Mr. *Steele* thinks it ſtrange that *Britain* ſhould be debarred this Privilege; what

what could be the Crime of putting ſuch a Caſe, that in future Ages, a Neceſſity might happen of limiting the Succeſſion, as well as it hath happened already?

When Mr. *Steele reflects upon the many ſolemn ſtrong Barriers* (to our Succeſſion) *of Laws and Oaths, &c.* he *thinks all Fear vaniſheth before them.* I think ſo too; provided the Epithet *ſolemn* goes for nothing; becauſe, although I have often heard of a *ſolemn* Day, a *ſolemn* Feaſt, and a *ſolemn* Coxcomb, yet I can conceive no Idea to myſelf of a *ſolemn Barrier*. However, be that as it will, his *Thoughts*, it ſeems, *will not let him reſt, but, before he is aware, he aſks himſelf ſeveral Queſtions*; and, ſince he cannot reſolve them, I will endeavour to give him what Satisfaction I am able. The firſt is, *What are the Marks of a laſting Security?* To which I anſwer, That the Sign of it in a Kingdom or State are, firſt, Good Laws; and, ſecondly, Thoſe Laws well executed: We are pretty well provided with the former, but extremely defective in the latter. Secondly, *What are our Tempers and our Hearts at home?* If by *ours* he means thoſe of himſelf and his Abettors, they are moſt damnably wicked; impatient for the Death of the QUEEN; ready to gratify their Ambition and Revenge by all deſperate Methods; wholly alienate from Truth, Law, Religion, Mercy, Conſcience, or Honour. Thirdly, *In what Hands is Power lodged abroad?* To anſwer the Queſtion naturally, *Louis* XIV. is King of *France*,

Philip

Philip V. (by the Counſels and Acknowledgments of the Whigs) is King of *Spain*, and ſo on. If by Power he means Money; the Duke of *Marlborough* is thought to have more ready Money than all the Kings of *Chriſtendom* together; but, by the peculiar Diſpoſition of Providence, it is locked up in a Trunk, to which his Ambition hath no Key; and that is our Security. Fourthly, *Are our unnatural Diviſions our Strength?* I think not; but they are the Sign of it; for being *unnatural*, they cannot laſt, and this ſhews that *Union*, the Foundation of all Strength, is more agreeable to our Nature. Fifthly, *Is it nothing to us, which of the Princes of* Europe *has the longeſt Sword?* Not much, if we can tie up his Hands, or put a ſtrong *Shield* into thoſe of his Neighbours; or if our *Sword* be as *ſharp* as his is *long*; or if it be neceſſary for him to turn his own *Sword* into a *Plowſhare*; or if ſuch a *Sword* happeneth to be in the Hands of an *Infant*, or ſtruggled for by two Competitors. Sixthly, *The powerful Hand that deals out Crowns and Kingdoms all around us, may it not in Time reach a King out to us too?* If the *powerful Hand* he means be that of *France*, it may *reach out* as many Kings as it pleaſeth; but we will not accept them. Whence does this Man get his Intelligence? I ſhould think, even his Brother *Ridpath* might furniſh him with better. What *Crowns* or *Kingdoms* hath *France* dealt about? *Spain* was given by the Will of the former King, in Conſequence of that in-

famous Treaty of *Partition*, the Adviſer of which, I hope, will never be forgot in *England*. *Sicily* was diſpoſed of by her Majeſty of *Great Britain*; ſo in Effect was *Sardinia*. *France* indeed once *reached out* a King to *Poland*, but the People would not receive him. This Queſtion of Mr. *Steele*'s was therefore only put *in terrorem*, without any Regard to Truth. Seventhly, *Are there no Pretenſions to our Crown that can ever be revived?* There may, for ought I know, be about a Dozen; and thoſe in Time may poſſibly beget a Hundred; but we muſt do as well as we can. Captain *Beſſus*, when he had fifty Challenges to anſwer, proteſted he could not fight above three Duels a Day. *If the Pretender ſhould fail* (ſays the Writer) *the* French *King has in his Quiver a Succeſſion of them*; *the Ducheſs of* Savoy, *or her Sons, or the* Dauphin *her Grandſon*. Let me ſuppoſe the *Chevalier de St. George* to be dead; the Ducheſs of *Savoy* will then be a *Pretender*, and conſequently muſt leave her Huſband, becauſe his Royal Highneſs (for Mr. *Steele* has not yet acknowledged him for a King) is in Alliance with her *Britiſh* Majeſty; her Sons, when they grow *Pretenders*, muſt undergo the ſame Fate. But I am at a Loſs how to diſpoſe of the *Dauphin*, if he happen to be King of *France* before the *Pretenderſhip* to *Britain* falls to his Share; for I doubt he will never be perſuaded to remove out of his own Kingdom, only becauſe it is too near *England*.

But

But *the Duke of* Savoy *did, ſome Years ago, put in his Claim to the Crown of* England *in Right of his Wife; and he is a Prince of great Capacity, in ſtrict Alliance with* France, *and may therefore very well add to our Fears of a Popiſh Succeſſor.* Is it the Fault of the preſent, or of any Miniſtry, that this Prince put in his Claim? Muſt we give him Opium to deſtroy his *Capacity?* Or can we prevent his Alliance with any Prince who is in Peace with her Majeſty? Muſt we ſend to ſtab or poiſon all the *Popiſh* Princes who have any pretended Title to our Crown by the Proximity of Blood? What, in the Name of GOD, can theſe People drive at? What is it they demand? Suppoſe the preſent *Dauphin* were now a Man, and King of *France*, and next *Popiſh* Heir to the Crown of *England*; is he not excluded by the Laws of the Land? But what Regard will he have to our Laws? I anſwer; Hath not the QUEEN as good a Title to the Crown of *France?* And how is ſhe excluded, but by their Law againſt the Succeſſion of Females, which we are not bound to acknowledge? And is it not in our Power to exclude Female Succeſſors, as well as in theirs? If ſuch a Pretence ſhall prove the Cauſe of a War, what human Power can prevent it? But our Cauſe muſt neceſſarily be good and righteous; for either the Kings of *England* have been unjuſtly kept out of the Poſſeſſion of *France*, or the *Dauphin*, although the neareſt of Kin, can have no legal Title to *England*. And he muſt be an ill Prince indeed, who will not have the Hearts

and Hands of ninety-nine in an hundred, among his Subjects, againſt ſuch a *Popiſh Pretender*.

I have been the longer in anſwering the ſeventh Queſtion, becauſe it led me to conſider all he had afterwards to ſay upon the Subject of the *Pretender*. Eighthy, and laſtly, he aſks himſelf, *Whether Popery and Ambition are become tame and quiet Neighbours?* In this I can give him no Satisfaction, becauſe I never was in that Street where they live; nor do I converſe with any of their Friends; only I find they are Perſons of a very evil Reputation. But I am told for certain, that *Ambition* hath removed her Lodging, and lives the very next Door to *Faction*, where they keep ſuch a Racket, that the whole Pariſh is diſturbed, and every Night in an Uproar.

Thus much in Anſwer to thoſe eight *uneaſy Queſtions* put by the Author to himſelf, in order to *ſatisfy every* Briton, and give him an Occaſion of *taking an impartial View of the Affairs of* Europe *in general, as well as of* Great Britain *in particular*.

After enumerating the great Actions of the *Confederate* Armies under the Command of Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough*, Mr. *Steele* obſerves, in the Bitterneſs of his Soul, that "the *Britiſh* General, however unac-"countable it may be to Poſterity, was not "permitted to enjoy the Fruits of his glori-"ous Labour." Ten Years *Fruits*, it ſeems, were not ſufficient, and yet they were the *fruit-*

fulleſt

fulleſt Campaigns that ever any General cropt. However, I cannot but hope that Poſterity will not be left in the Dark, but ſome Care taken both of her Majeſty's Glory, and the Reputation of thoſe ſhe employs. An impartial Hiſtorian may tell the World (and the next Age will eaſily believe what it continues to feel) that the Avarice and Ambition of a few factious, inſolent Subjects, had almoſt deſtroyed their Country, by continuing a ruinous War, in Conjunction with Allies, for whoſe Sakes principally we fought, who refuſed to bear their juſt Proportion of the Charge, and were connived at in their Refuſal, for private Ends: That theſe factious People treated the beſt and kindeſt of Sovereigns with Inſolence, Cruelty, and Ingratitude (of which he will be able to produce ſeveral Inſtances;) That they encouraged Perſons and Principles, alien from our Religion and Government, in order to ſtrengthen their Faction: He will tell the Reaſons why the *General* and *firſt Miniſter* were ſeduced to be Heads of this Faction, contrary to the Opinions they had always profeſſed. Such an Hiſtorian will ſhew many Reaſons, which made it neceſſary to remove the *General* and his Friends, who, knowing the Bent of the Nation was againſt them, expected to loſe their Power when the War was at an End. Particularly, the Hiſtorian will diſcover the whole Intrigue of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s endeavouring to procure a Commiſſion to be *General for Life*; wherein Juſtice will be done to a Perſon at

that Time of high Station in the Law, who (I mention it to his Honour) adviſed the Duke, when he was conſulted upon it, not to accept of ſuch a *Commiſſion*. By theſe, and many other Inſtances which Time will bring to Light, it may perhaps appear not very unaccountable to Poſterity, why this great Man was diſmiſſed at laſt; but rather why he was diſmiſſed no ſooner.

But this is entering into a wide Field. I ſhall therefore leave *Poſterity* to the Information of better Hiſtorians than the Author of the *Criſis*, or myſelf; and go on to inform the preſent Age in ſome Facts, which this great Orator and Politician thinks fit to miſrepreſent with the utmoſt Degree either of natural or wilful Ignorance. He aſſerts, that in the Duke of *Ormonde*'s Campaign, "After a Suſpenſion "of Arms between *Great Britain* and *France*, "proclaimed at the Head of the Armies, the "*Britiſh*, in the midſt of the Enemy's Gariſons, "withdrew themſelves from their Confede-"rates." The Fact is directly otherwiſe; for the *Britiſh* Troops were moſt infamouſly deſerted by the Confederates, after all that could be urged by the Duke of *Ormonde*, and the Earl of *Strafford*, to preſs the Confederate Generals not to forſake them. The Duke was directed to avoid engaging in any Action until he had further Orders, becauſe an Account of the King of *Spain*'s Renunciation was every Day expected: This the *Imperialiſts* and *Dutch* knew well enough; and therefore propoſed to

the Duke, in that very Juncture, to engage the *French*, for no other Reaſon but to render deſperate all the QUEEN's Meaſures towards a Peace. Was not the certain Poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk* of equal Advantage to the Uncertainty of a Battle? A whole Campaign under the Duke of *Marlborough*, with ſuch an Acquiſition, although at the Coſt of many thouſand Lives, and ſeveral Millions of Money, would have been thought very glorioufly ended.

Neither, after all, was it a new thing, either in the *Britiſh* General, or the *Dutch* Deputies, to refuſe fighting, when they did not approve it. When the Duke of *Marlborough* was going to inveſt *Bouchain*, the Deputies of the *States* preſſed him, in vain, to engage the Enemy; and one of them was ſo far diſcontented upon his Grace's Refuſal, that he preſently became a Partizan of the Peace; yet I do not remember any Clamour then raiſed here againſt the Duke upon that Account. Again, when the *French* inveſted *Douay*, after the Confederates had deſerted the Duke of *Ormonde*, Prince *Eugene* was violently bent upon a Battle, and ſaid, they ſhould never have another ſo good an Opportunity; but Monſieur ------, a private Deputy, roſe up, and oppoſed it ſo far, that the Prince was forced to deſiſt. Was it then more criminal in the Duke of *Ormonde* to refuſe fighting, by expreſs Command of the QUEEN, and in order to get Poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, than for the Duke of *Marlborough* to give the ſame Refuſal, without any ſuch Orders,

or

or any ſuch Advantage? Or ſhall a *Dutch* Deputy aſſume more Power than the QUEEN of *Great Britain*'s General, acting by the immediate Commands of his Sovereign?

The *Emperor and the Empire* (ſays Mr. *Steele* by Way of Admiration) *continue the War!* Is his *Imperial* Majeſty able to continue it or no? If he be, then *Great Britain* hath been ſtrangely uſed for ten Years paſt: Then how came it to paſs, that of above thirty thouſand Men in his Service in *Italy*, at the Time of the Battle of *Turin*, there were not above four thouſand paid by himſelf? If he be not able to continue it, why does he go on? The Reaſons are clear, becauſe the War only affects the Princes of the Empire (whom he is willing enough to expoſe) but not his own Dominions. Beſides, the *Imperial* Miniſters are in daily Expectation of the QUEEN's Death, which they hope will give a new Turn to Affairs, and rekindle the War in *Europe* upon the old Foot; and we know how the Miniſters of that Court publickly aſſign it for a Reaſon of their Obſtinacy againſt Peace, that they hope for a ſudden Revolution in *England*. In the mean Time, this Appearance of the *Emperor*'s being forſaken by his Ally, will ſerve to increaſe the Clamour, both here and in *Holland*, againſt her Majeſty and thoſe ſhe employs.

Mr. *Steele* ſays, "there can be no Crime in "affirming (if it be Truth) that the Houſe of "*Bourbon*, is at this Juncture become more for-"midable,

" midable, and bids fairer for an univerſal " Monarchy and to engroſs the whole " Trade of *Europe*, than it did before the " War."

NO Crime in affirming it, if it be Truth. I will for once allow his Propoſition. But if it be falſe, then I affirm, that whoever advanceth ſo ſeditious a Falſhood, deſerveth to be hanged. Doth he mean by the Houſe of *Bourbon*, the two Kings of *France* and *Spain?* If ſo, I reject his Meaning, which would inſinuate, that the Intereſts and Deſigns of both thoſe Princes will be the ſame; whereas they are more oppoſite than thoſe of any two other Monarchs in *Chriſtendom*. This is the old fooliſh Slander ſo frequently flung upon the Peace, and as frequently refuted. Theſe factious Undertakers of the Preſs write with great Advantage; they ſtrenuouſly affirm a thouſand Falſhoods, without Fear, Wit, Conſcience, or Knowledge; and we, who anſwer them, muſt be at the Expence of an Argument for each; after which, in the very next Pamphlet, we ſee the ſame Aſſertions produced again, without the leaſt Notice of what hath been ſaid to diſprove them. By the Houſe of *Bourbon* doth he mean only the *French* King for the Time being? If ſo, and his Aſſertion be true, then that Prince muſt either deal with the Devil, or elſe the Money and Blood ſpent in our ten Years Victories againſt him, might as well have continued in the Purſes and Veins of her Majeſty's Subjects.

But

But the *particular* Aſſertions of this Author are eaſier detected than his *general* ones; I ſhall therefore proceed upon examining the former. For Inſtance: I deſire him to ask the *Dutch*, who can beſt inform him, *Why they delivered up* Traerback *to the* Imperialiſts? For, as to the QUEEN, her Majeſty was never once conſulted in it; whatever his Preceptors, the Politicians of *Button's* Coffee-houſe, may have informed him to the contrary.

Mr. *Steele* affirms, that *the* French *have begun the Demolition of* Dunkirk *contemptuouſly and arbitrarily their own Way.* The Governor of the Town, and thoſe Gentlemen entruſted with the Inſpection of this Work, do aſſure me, that the Fact is altogether otherwiſe; that the Method preſcribed by thoſe whom her Majeſty employs, hath been exactly followed, and that the Works are already demoliſhed. I will venture to tell him further, that the Demolition was ſo long deferred, in order to remove thoſe Difficulties which the *Barrier* Treaty hath put us under; and the Event hath ſhewn, that it was prudent to proceed no faſter, until thoſe Difficulties were got over. The *Mole* and *Harbour* could not be deſtroyed until the Ships were got out; which, by Reaſon of ſome profound Secrets of State, did not happen until the other Day. Who *gave him thoſe juſt Suſpicions, that the Mole and Harbour will never be deſtroyed?* What is it that he would now inſinuate? That the Miniſtry is bribed to leave the moſt important Part of the Work undone;

or

or that the *Pretender* is to invade us from thence; or that the QUEEN hath entered into a Conſpiracy with her Servants to prevent the good Effects of the Peace, for no other End, but to loſe the Affections of her People, and endanger Herſelf.

Inſtead of any further Information, which I could eaſily give, but which no honeſt Man can want, I venture to affirm, that the Mole and Harbour of *Dunkirk* will, in a ſhort Time, be moſt effectually deſtroyed; and, at the ſame Time, I venture to propheſy, that neither Mr. *Steele*, nor his Faction, will ever confeſs they believe it.

After all, it is a little hard that the QUEEN cannot be allowed to demoliſh this Town in whatever Manner ſhe pleaſeth to fancy. Mr. *Steele* muſt have it done his own Way, and is angry the *French* have pretended to do it theirs; and yet he wrongs them into the Bargain. For my own Part, I do ſeriouſly think the Moſt Chriſtian King to be a much better Friend of her Majeſty's than Mr. *Steele*, or any of his Faction. Beſides, it is to be conſidered, that he is a Monarch, and a Relation; and therefore, if I were a Privy Counſellor, and my Advice to be aſked, which of thoſe two † GENTLEMEN BORN ſhould have the Direction in the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, I would give it for the former; becauſe I look upon Mr. *Steele*, in Quality of a Member of his

† *Mr.* STEELE *often ſtyles himſelf ſo.*

his Party, to be much more ſkilful in *demoliſhing at Home* than *Abroad*.

There is a Proſpect of more Danger to the Balance of *Europe*, and to the Trade of *Britain*, from the *Emperor* over-running *Italy*, than from *France* over-running the *Empire*; that his *Imperial* Majeſty entertains ſuch Thoughts is viſible to the World: And, although little can be ſaid to juſtify many Actions of the *French* King, yet the worſt of them have never equalled the Emperor's arbitrary keeping the Poſſeſſion of *Milan*, directly contrary to his Oath, and to the expreſs Words of the *Golden Bull*; which oblige him to deliver up every *Fief* that falls; or elſe they muſt all, in the Courſe of Time, lapſe into his own Hands.

I was at a Loſs who it was that Mr. *Steele* hinted at ſome time ago, by *the powerful Hand, that deals out Crowns and Kingdoms all around us*: I now plainly find, he meant no other Hand but his own. He hath dealt out the Crown of *Spain* to *France*; to *France* he hath given Leave to invade the *Empire* next Spring with two hundred thouſand Men, and now at laſt he deals to *France* the *Imperial* Dignity, *and ſo farewel Liberty*; Europe *will be* French. But, in order to bring all this about, *the Capital of* Auſtria, *the Reſidence of his* Imperial Majeſty, muſt continue to be *viſited by the Plague*, of which the *Emperor* muſt die, and ſo the Thing is done.

Why ſhould not I venture to *deal out* one *Sceptre* in my Turn, as well as Mr. *Steele?*

Why

I therefore *deal out* the *Empire* to the *Elector* of *Saxony*, upon Failure of Iſſue to this *Emperor* at his Death: provided the Whigs will prevail on the *Son* to turn *Papiſt*, to get an *Empire*, as they did upon the *Father* to get a *Kingdom*. Or, if this Prince be not approved of, I *deal out*, in his Stead, the *Elector* of *Bavaria*: And, in one or the other of theſe, I dare engage to have all *Chriſtendom* to ſecond me, whatever the Spleen, in the Shape of Politicks, may dictate to the Author of the *Criſis*.

The Deſign of Mr. *Steele*, in *repreſenting the Circumſtances of the Affairs in* Europe, is to ſignify to the World, that all *Europe* is put in the high Road to Slavery by the Corruption of her Majeſty's preſent Miniſters; and ſo he goes on to *Portugal*; which "having, during "the War, ſupplied us with Gold in Ex-"change for our *Woollen Manufacture*, hath "only at preſent a Suſpenſion of Arms for its "Protection, to laſt no longer than until the "*Catalonians* are reduced; and then the old "Pretenſions of *Spain* to *Portugal* will be "revived;" And *Portugal*, when once enſlaved by *Spain*, falls naturally, with the reſt of *Europe*, into the Gulph of *France*. In the mean Time, let us ſee what Relief a little Truth can give this unhappy Kingdom. That *Portugal* hath yet no more than a Suſpenſion of Arms, they may thank themſelves, becauſe they came ſo late into the Treaty; and, that they came ſo late, they may thank the Whigs,

whoſe falſe Repreſentations they were ſo weak to believe. However, the QUEEN hath voluntarily given them a Guaranty to defend them againſt *Spain*, until the Peace ſhall be made; and ſuch Terms, after the Peace, are ſtipulated for them, as the *Portugueſe* themſelves are contented with.

Having mentioned the *Catalonians*, he puts the Queſtion, *Who can name the* Catalonians *without a Tear?* That can I; for he hath told ſo many melancholy Stories without one Syllable of Truth, that he hath blunted the Edge of my Fears, and I ſhall not be ſtartled at the worſt he can ſay. What he affirms concerning the *Catalonians* is included in the following Particulars: Firſt, *That they were drawn into the War by the Encouragement of the Maritime Powers*; by which are underſtood *England* and *Holland*. But he is too good a Friend of the *Dutch*, to give them any Part of the Blame: Secondly, That *they are now abandoned and expoſed to the Reſentment of an enraged Prince*: Thirdly, That *they always oppoſed the Perſon and Intereſt of that Prince*, who is their preſent King. Laſtly, That *the Doom is dreadful of thoſe who ſhall, in the Sight of God, be eſteemed their Deſtroyers*. And, if we interpret the Inſinuation he makes, according to his own Mind, the Deſtruction of thoſe People muſt be imputed to the preſent Miniſtry.

I am ſometimes, in Charity, diſpoſed to hope that this Writer is not always ſenſible of the flagrant

flagrant Falſhoods he utters, but is either biaſſed by an Inclination to believe the worſt, or a Want of Judgment to chuſe his Informers. That the *Catalonians* were *drawn into the War by the Encouragement of her Majeſty*, ſhould not in Decency have been affirmed until about fifty Years hence; when it might be ſuppoſed there would be no living Witneſs left to diſprove it. It was only upon the Aſſurances of a Revolt, given by the Prince of *Heſſé*, and others, and their Invitation, that the QUEEN was prevailed with to ſend her Forces upon that Expedition. When *Barcelona* was taken by a moſt unexpected Accident, of a Bomb lighting on the Magazine, then indeed the *Catalonians* revolted, having before ſubmitted, and ſworn Allegiance to *Philip*, as much as any other Province of *Spain*. Upon the Peace between that Crown and *Britain*, the QUEEN, in order to eaſe the *Emperor*, and ſave his Troops, ſtipulated with King *Philip* for a Neutrality in *Italy*, and that his *Imperial* Majeſty ſhould have Liberty to evacuate *Catalonia*; upon Condition of abſolute Indemnity to the *Catalans*, with an entire Reſtitution to their Honours, Dignities, and Eſtates. As this Neutrality was never obſerved by the *Emperor*, ſo he never effectually evacuated *Catalonia*; for although he ſent away the main Body, he left behind many Officers and private Men, who now ſpirit up and aſſiſt thoſe obſtinate People to continue in their Rebellion. It is true indeed, that

King *Philip* did not abſolutely reſtore the *Catalans* to *all* their old Privileges, of which they never made other Uſe than as an Encouragement to rebel; but to the ſame Privileges with his Subjects of *Caſtile*, particularly to the Liberty of Trading, and having Employments in the *Weſt Indies*, which they never enjoyed before. Beſides, the QUEEN reſerved to herſelf the Power of procuring farther Immunities for them, wherein the Moſt Chriſtian King was obliged to ſecond her: For his *Catholick* Majeſty intended no more, than to retrench thoſe Privileges, under the Pretext of which they now rebel, as they had formerly done in favour of *France*. *How dreadful* then *muſt be the Doom of thoſe*, who hindered theſe People from ſubmitting to the gentle Terms offered them by their Prince! And who, although they be conſcious of their own Inability to furniſh one ſingle Ship for the Support of the *Catalans*, are, at this Inſtant, ſpurring them on to their Ruin, by Promiſes of Aid and Protection.

Thus much in Anſwer to Mr. *Steele*'s Account of the Affairs of *Europe*; from which he deduceth the Univerſal Monarchy of *France*, and the Danger of I know not how many *Popiſh Succeſſors*, to *Britain*. His political Reflections are as good as his Facts. *We muſt obſerve*, ſays he, *that the Perſon who ſeems to be the moſt favoured by the* French *King in the late Treaties, is the Duke of* Savoy. Extremely right; for whatever that Prince got by the Peace, he owes entirely

firely to her Majeſty, as a juſt Reward for is having been ſo firm and uſeful an Ally; neither was *France* brought with more Difficulty to yield any one Point, than that of allowing the Duke ſuch a Barrier as the QUEEN inſiſted on.

" He is become the moſt powerful Prince in " *Italy*." I had rather ſee *him* ſo than the *Emperor*. " He is ſuppoſed to have entered " into a ſecret and ſtrict Alliance with the " Houſe of *Bourbon*." This is one of thoſe Facts wherein I am moſt inclined to believe the Author, becauſe it is what he muſt needs be utterly ignorant of, and therefore might poſſibly be true.

I thought indeed we ſhould be ſafe from all Popiſh Succeſſors as far as *Italy*, becauſe of the prodigious Clutter about ſending the *Pretender* thither. But they will never agree where to fix their *Longitude*. The Duke of *Savoy* is the more dangerous for removing to *Sicily*: He *adds to our Fears* for being *too near*. So *whether* France *conquer* Germany, *or be in Peace and good Underſtanding with it*; either Event *will put us and* Holland *at the Mercy of* France, which hath a Quiver full of *Pretenders* at its back, whenever the *Chevalier* ſhall die.

This was juſt the Logick of poor *Prince Butler*, a ſplenetick Madman, whom every body may remember about the Town. Prince *Pamphilio* in *Italy* employed Emiſſaries to torment *Prince Butler* here. But what if Prince *Pam-*

Pamphilio die? Why then, he had left in his Will, that his Heirs and Executors torment *Prince Butler* for ever.

I cannot think it a Misfortune, what Mr. *Steele* affirms, that "treasonable Books lately "disperſed among us, ſtriking apparently at "the *Hanover* Succeſſion, have paſſed almoſt "without Obſervation from the Generality of "the People;" becauſe it ſeems a certain Sign, that *the Generality of the People* are well diſpoſed to that illuſtrious Family: But I look upon it as a great Evil, to ſee ſeditious Books *diſperſed among us, apparently ſtriking at the* QUEEN, and her Adminiſtration, at the Conſtitution in Church and State, and at all Religion; yet *paſſing without Obſervation from the Generality of* thoſe in Power: But whether this Remiſſneſs may be imputed to *White-hall*, or *Weſtminſter-hall*, is other Mens Buſineſs to enquire. Mr. *Steele* knows in his Conſcience, that the *Queries concerning the* Pretender iſſued from one of his own Party. And as for the poor Nonjuring Clergyman, who was truſted with committing to the Preſs a late Book *on the Subject* of *Hereditary Right*, by a Strain of the *Summum Jus*, he is now, as I am told, with half a ſcore Children, ſtarving and rotting among Thieves and Pick-pockets, in the common Room of a ſtinking Jail *. I have never ſeen

* *Upon his Conviction he was committed to the* Marſhalſea, *and, at his Sentence, to the* Queen's Bench, *for three Years.*

either

either the Book or the Publiſher; however, I would fain aſk *one ſingle Perſon* † in the World a Queſtion; Why he hath ſo often drank the abdicated King's Health upon his Knees? ---- But the Tranſition is natural and frequent, and I ſhall not trouble him for an Anſwer.

It is the hardeſt Caſe in the World, that Mr. *Steele* ſhould take up the artificial Reports of his own Faction, and then put them off upon the World as *additional Fears of a Popiſh Succeſſor*. I can aſſure him, that no good Subject of the QUEEN is under the leaſt Concern, whether the *Pretender* be converted or no, farther than their Wiſhes, that all Men would embrace the true Religion. But, reporting backwards and forwards upon this Point, helps to keep up the Noiſe, and is a Topick for Mr. *Steele* to enlarge himſelf upon, by ſhewing how little we can depend on ſuch Converſions; by collecting a Liſt of *Popiſh* Cruelties, and repeating, after himſelf and the Biſhop of *Sarum*, the diſmal Effects likely to follow upon the Return of that Superſtition among us.

But as this Writer is reported by thoſe who know him, to be what the *French* call *Journalier*, his Fear and Courage operating according to the Weather in our uncertain Climate; I am apt to believe the two laſt Pages of his *Criſis* were written on a *Sun-ſhine Day*. This I gueſs from the general Tenor of them, and particularly from an unwary Aſſertion, which,

† Parker, *afterwards Lord Chancellor*.

if

if he believes as firmly as I do, will at once overthrow all his foreign and domeſtick *Fears of a Popiſh Succeſſor*. "As divided a People "as we are, thoſe who ſtand for the Houſe of "*Hanover*, are INFINITELY ſuperior in "Number, Wealth, Courage, and all Arts, "Military and Civil too, in the contrary In-"tereſt; beſides which we have the Laws, I "ſay, the Laws on our Side." *The Laws, I ſay, the Laws.* This elegant Repetition is, I think, a little out of Place; for the Streſs might better have been laid upon ſo great a Majority of the Nation, without which, I doubt, the Laws would be of little Weight; although they be very good additional Securities. And, if what he here aſſerts be true, as it certainly is, although he aſſert it (for I allow even the the Majority of his own Party to be againſt the *Pretender)* there can be no Danger of a Popiſh Succeſſor, except from the unreaſonable Jealouſies of the *beſt* among that Party, and from the Malice, the Avarice, or Ambition of the *worſt*; without which *Britain* would be able to defend her Succeſſion againſt all her Enemies both at home and abroad. Moſt of the Dangers from Abroad, which he enumerates as the Conſequences of this very bad Peace made by the QUEEN, and approved by Parliament, muſt have ſubſiſted under any Peace at all; unleſs, among other Projects equally feaſible, we could have ſtipulated to cut the Throats of every *Popiſh* Relation to the Royal Family.

Well,

Well, by this Author's own Confeſſion, a Number infinitely ſuperior, and the beſt circumſtantiated imaginable, are for the *Succeſſion* in the Houſe of *Hanover*. This *Succeſſion* is eſtabliſhed, confirmed, and ſecured by ſeveral Laws; her Majeſty's repeated Declarations, and the Oaths of all her Subjects, engage both her and them to preſerve what thoſe Laws have ſettled. This is a Security indeed, a *Security* adequate at leaſt to the Importance of the thing; and yet, according to the Whig Scheme, as delivered to us by Mr. *Steele*, and his Coadjutors, is altogether inſufficient; and the Succeſſion will be defeated, the *Pretender* brought in, and *Popery* eſtabliſhed among us, without the farther Aſſiſtance of this Writer and his Faction.

And what Securities have our Adverſaries ſubſtituted in the Place of theſe? A Club of Politicians, where *Jenny Mann* preſides; A *Criſis* written by Mr. *Steele*; A Confederacy of knaviſh Stock-jobbers to ruin Credit; A Report of the Queen's Death; An *Effigies* of the *Pretender* run twice through the Body by a valiant Peer; A Speech by the Author of the *Criſis*; and, to ſum up all, An unlimited Freedom of reviling her Majeſty, and thoſe ſhe employs.

I have now finiſhed the moſt diſguſtful Taſk that ever I undertook. I could with more Eaſe have written *three* dull Pamphlets, than remarked upon the Falſhoods and Abſurdities of

of *One*. But I was quite confounded laſt *Wedneſday*, when the Printer came with another Pamphlet in his Hand, written by the ſame Author, and entitled, *The Engliſhman, being the Cloſe of the Paper ſo called*, &c. He deſired I would read it over, and conſider it in a Paper by itſelf; which laſt I abſolutely refuſed. Upon Peruſal I found it chiefly an Invective againſt *Toby*, the Miniſtry, the *Examiner*, the Clergy, the QUEEN, and the *Poſt-Boy*; yet, at the ſame Time, with great Juſtice, exclaiming againſt thoſe who preſumed to offer the leaſt Word againſt the Heads of that Faction whom her Majeſty diſcarded. The Author likewiſe propoſeth an *equal Diviſion of Favour and Employments* between the *Whigs* and *Tories*; for if the former *can have no Part or Portion in* David, *they deſire no longer to be his Subjects*. He inſiſts, that Her Majeſty *hath exactly followed* Monſieur Tughe's *Memorial againſt demoliſhing of* Dunkirk. He reflects, with *great Satisfaction, on the Good already done to his Country by the* Criſis. *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis*, &c.---He gives us Hopes, that he will leave off Writing, *and conſult his own Quiet and Happineſs*; and concludes with a *Letter to a Friend at Court*. I ſuppoſe, by the Style of *old Friend*, and the like, it muſt be ſome body *there* of his own Level; among whom his Party have, indeed, more *Friends* than I could wiſh. In this Letter he aſſerts, that the preſent Miniſters were not educated in the Church of *England*, but are

new

new Converts from Presbytery. Upon which I can only reflect, how blind the Malice of that Man must be, who invents a groundless Lie, in order to defame his Superiors, which would be no Disgrace, if it had been a Truth. And he concludes, with making three Demands, *for the Satisfaction of himself*, and other *Malecontents*. First, *the Demolition of the Harbour of* Dunkirk. Secondly, *that* Great Britain *and* France *would heartily join against the exorbitant Power of the Duke of* Lorrain, *and force the* Pretender *from his* Asylum *at* Bar le Duc. Lastly, *That his* Electoral Highness *of* Hanover *would be so grateful to signify to all the World the perfect good Understanding he hath with the Court of* England, *in as plain Terms as Her Majesty was pleased to declare she had with that House on her Part.*

As to the first of these Demands, I will venture to undertake it shall be granted; but then Mr. *Steele*, and his Brother *Malecontents*, must promise to believe the Thing is done, after those employed have made their Report; or else bring Vouchers to disprove it. Upon the second; I cannot tell whether Her Majesty will engage in a War against the Duke of *Lorrain*, to *force him to remove the* Pretender; but I believe, if the Parliament should think it necessary to address upon such an Occasion, the QUEEN will move that Prince to send him away. His last Demand, offered under the Title of a *Wish*, is of so insolent and seditious a Strain, that

that I care not to touch it. Here he directly chargeth Her Majesty with delivering a Falsehood to her Parliament from the Throne; and declares he will not believe her, until the Elector of *Hanover* himself shall vouch for the Truth of what she hath so solemnly affirmed.

I agree with this Writer, that it is an idle Thing in his Antagonists to trouble themselves upon the *Articles of his Birth*, *Education*, or *Fortune*; for whoever writes at this Rate of his Sovereign, to whom he owes so many personal Obligations, I should never enquire whether he be a *GENTLEMAN BORN*, but whether he be a *HUMAN CREATURE*.

THE CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES, &c.

Partem tibi Gallia noſtri
Eripuit: Partem duris Hiſpania bellis:
Pars jacet Heſperia, totoque exercitus orbe
Te vincente perit.

Odimus accipitrem quia ſemper vivit in armis.
Victrix Provincia plorat.

PREFACE.

I Cannot ſufficiently admire the Induſtry of a ſort of Men, wholly out of Favour with the Prince and People, and openly profeſſing a ſeparate Intereſt from the Bulk of the Landed Men, who yet are able to raiſe, at this Juncture, ſo great a Clamour againſt a Peace, without offering one ſingle Reaſon, but what we find in their Ballads. *I lay it down for a Maxim, That no reaſonable Man, whether* Whig *or* Tory *(ſince it is neceſſary to uſe thoſe fooliſh Terms) can be of Opinion for continuing the War, upon the Foot it now is, unleſs he be a Gainer by it, or hopes it may occaſion ſome new Turn of Affairs at home, to the Advantage of his Party; or, laſtly, unleſs he be very ignorant of the*

Kingdom's Condition, and by what Means we have been reduced to it. Upon the two firſt Caſes, where Intereſt is concerned, I have nothing to ſay: But as to the laſt, I think it highly neceſſary that the Publick ſhould be freely and impartially told what Circumſtances they are in, after what Manner they have been treated by thoſe, whom they have truſted ſo many Years with the Diſpoſal of their Blood and Treaſure, and what the Conſequences of this Management are like to be upon themſelves and their Poſterity.

Thoſe who, either by Writing or Diſcourſe, have undertaken to defend the Proceedings of the late Miniſtry, in the Management of the War, and of the Treaty at Gertruydenburg, *have ſpent Time in celebrating the Conduct and Valour of our Leaders, and their Troops, in ſumming up the Victories they have gained, and the Towns they have taken. Then they tell us, what high Articles were inſiſted on by our Miniſters, and thoſe of the Confederates, and what Pains both were at in perſuading* France *to accept them. But nothing of*

of this can give the leaſt Satisfaction to the juſt Complaints of the Kingdom. As to the War, our Grievances are, that a greater Load has been laid on us, than was either juſt or neceſſary, or than we have been able to bear; that the groſſeſt Impoſitions have been ſubmitted to, for the Advancement of private Wealth and Power, or in order to forward the more dangerous Deſigns of a Faction; *to both which a Peace would have put an End; and that the Part of the War which was chiefly our Province, which would have been moſt beneficial to us, and deſtructive to the Enemy, was wholly neglected. As to a Peace, we complain of being deluded by a* Mock-Treaty; *in which thoſe who negotiated, took Care to make ſuch Demands, as they knew were impoſſible to be complied with; and therefore might ſecurely preſs every Article, as if they were in earneſt.*

Theſe are ſome of the Points I deſign to treat of in the following Diſcourſe; with ſeveral others which I thought it neceſſary, at this Time, for the Kingdom to be in-

formed of. I think I am not miſtaken in thoſe Facts I mention; at leaſt not in any Circumſtance ſo material as to weaken the Conſequences I draw from them.

After Ten Years Wars with perpetual Succeſs, to tell us it is yet impoſſible to have a good Peace, is very ſurprizing, and ſeems ſo different from what hath ever happened in the World before, that a Man of any Party may be allowed ſuſpecting, that we have been either ill uſed, or have not made the moſt of our Victories, and might therefore deſire to know where the Difficulty lay. Then it is natural to enquire into our preſent Condition: how long we ſhall be able to go on at this Rate; what the Conſequences may be upon the preſent and future Ages; and whether a Peace, without that impracticable Point, which ſome People do ſo much inſiſt on, be really ruinous in itſelf, or equally ſo with the Continuance of the War.

THE

THE CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES,

And of the LATE MINISTRY,

In beginning and carrying on the preſent WAR.

Written in the Year 1712.

THE Motives that may engage a wiſe Prince or State in War, I take to be one or more of theſe: Either to check the overgrown Power of ſome ambitious Neighbour; to recover what hath been unjuſtly taken from them; to revenge ſome

ſome Injury they have received (which all political Caſuiſts allow;) to aſſiſt ſome Ally in a juſt Quarrel; or laſtly, to defend themſelves when they are invaded. In all theſe Caſes the Writers upon Politicks admit a War to be juſtly undertaken. The laſt is what hath been uſually called *pro aris & focis*: where no Expence or Endeavour can be too great, becauſe all we have is at ſtake, and conſequently our utmoſt Force to be exerted; and the Diſpute is ſoon determined, either in Safety or utter Deſtruction. But in the other four, I believe it will be found that no Monarch or Commonwealth did ever engage beyond a certain Degree; never proceeding ſo far as to exhauſt the Strength and Subſtance of their Country by Anticipation and Loans, which, in a few Years, muſt put them in a worſe Condition than any they could reaſonably apprehend from thoſe Evils, for the preventing of which they firſt entered into the War; becauſe this would be to run into real, infallible Ruin, only in hopes to remove what might perhaps but appear ſo by a probable Speculation.

And as a War ſhould be undertaken upon a juſt and prudent Motive, ſo it is ſtill more obvious, that a Prince ought maturely to conſider the Condition he is in when he enters on it; whether his Coffers be full, his Revenues clear of Debts, his People numerous and rich, by a long Peace, and free Trade, not over-preſſed with many burthenſome Taxes; no violent Faction ready to diſpute his juſt Prerogative, and

and thereby weaken his Authority at home, and leſſen his Reputation abroad. For, if the contrary of all this happen to be his Caſe, he will hardly be perſuaded to diſturb the World's Quiet, and his own, while there is any other Way left of preſerving the latter with Honour and Saſety.

Suppoſing the War to have commenced upon a juſt Motive; the next thing to be conſidered, is, When a Prince ought, in Prudence, to receive the Overtures of a Peace; which I take to be, either when the Enemy is ready to yield the Point originally contended for; or when that Point is found impoſſible to be ever obtained; or when contending any longer, although with Probability of gaining that Point at laſt, would put ſuch a Prince and his People in a worſe Condition than the preſent Loſs of it. All which Conſiderations are of much greater Force where a War is managed by an Alliance of many Confederates, which, in the Variety of Intereſts among the ſeveral Parties, is liable to ſo many unforeſeen Accidents.

In a Confederate War it ought to be conſidered, which Party has the deepeſt Share in the Quarrel; for although each may have their particular Reaſons, yet one or two among them will probably be more concerned than the reſt, and therefore ought to bear the greateſt Part of the Burthen, in proportion to their Strength. For Example: Two Princes may be Competitors for a Kingdom, and it will be your Intereſt to take the Part of him, who will probably allow

low you good Conditions of Trade, rather than of the other, who poſſibly may not. However, that Prince whoſe Cauſe you eſpouſe, although never ſo vigorouſly, is the Principal in that War, and you, properly ſpeaking, but a ſecond. Or a Commonwealth may lie in Danger to be over-run by a powerful Neighbour, which, in Time, may produce very bad Conſequences upon your Trade and Liberty: It is therefore neceſſary, as well as prudent, to lend them Aſſiſtance, and help them to win a ſtrong ſecure Frontier; but as they muſt in courſe be the firſt and greateſt Sufferers; ſo, in Juſtice, they ought to bear the greateſt Weight. If a Houſe be on fire, it behoves all in the Neighbourhood to run with Buckets to quench it; but the Owner is ſure to be undone firſt; and it is not impoſſible that thoſe at next Door may eſcape, by a Shower from Heaven, or the Stilneſs of the Weather, or ſome other favourable Accident.

But if an Ally, who is not ſo immediately concerned in the good or ill Fortune of the War, be ſo generous as to contribute more than the principal Party, and even more in proportion to his Abilities, he ought at leaſt to have his Share in what is conquered from the Enemy; or, if his Romantic Diſpoſition tranſport him ſo far as to expect little or nothing from this, he might, however, hope, that the Principals would make it up in Dignity and Reſpect; and he would ſurely think it monſtrous to find them intermeddling in his Domeſtick Affairs,

Affairs, preſcribing what Servants he ſhould keep or diſmiſs, preſſing him perpetually with the moſt unreaſonable Demands, and, at every Turn, threatning to break the Alliance if he will not comply.

From theſe Reflections upon War in general, I deſcend to conſider thoſe Wars, wherein *England* hath been engaged ſince the Conqueſt. In the Civil Wars of the *Barons*, as well as thoſe between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, great Deſtruction was made of the Nobility and Gentry; new Families raiſed, and old ones extinguiſhed; but the Money ſpent on both Sides was employed and circulated at home; no publick Debts contracted; and a very few Years of Peace quickly ſet all right again.

The like may be affirmed even of that unnatural Rebellion againſt King *Charles* I. The Uſurpers maintained great Armies in conſtant Pay, had almoſt continual War with *Spain* or *Holland*; but managing it by their Fleets, they increaſed very much the Riches of the Kingdom, inſtead of exhauſting them.

Our Foreign Wars were generally againſt *Scotland* or *France*; the firſt being in this Iſland, carried no Money out of the Kingdom, and were ſeldom of long Continuance. During our firſt Wars with *France*, we poſſeſſed great Dominions in that Country, where we preſerved ſome Footing till the Reign of Queen *Mary*; and although ſome of our later Princes made very chargeable Expeditions thither, a Subſidy, and two or three Fifteenths, cleared all the Debt.

Debt. Beſides, our Victories were then of ſome Uſe, as well as Glory; for we were ſo prudent to fight, and ſo happy to conquer, only for ourſelves.

The *Dutch* Wars in the Reign of King *Charles* II. although begun and carried under a very corrupt Adminiſtration, and much to the Diſhonour of the Crown, did indeed keep the King needy and poor, by diſcontinuing, or diſcontenting his Parliament, when he moſt needed their Aſſiſtance; but neither left any Debt upon the Nation, nor carried any Money out of it.

At the *Revolution*, a general War broke out in *Europe*, wherein many Princes joined in Alliance againſt *France*, to check the ambitious Deſigns of that Monarch; and here the *Emperor*, the *Dutch*, and *England*, were Principals. About this Time the Cuſtom firſt began among us of borrowing Millions upon Funds of Intereſt. It was pretended, that the War could not poſſibly laſt above one or two Campaigns; and that the Debts contracted might be eaſily paid in a few Years, by a gentle Tax, without burthening the Subject. But the true Reaſon for embracing this Expedient, was the Security of a new Prince, now firmly ſettled on the Throne. People were tempted to lend, by great Premiums, and large Intereſt; and it concerned them nearly to preſerve that Government, which they had truſted with their Money. The Perſon * ſaid to have been Author of

* *Doctor* Burnet *Biſhop of* Sarum.

of ſo deteſtable a Project, lived to ſee ſome of its fatal Conſequences, whereof his Grand-Children will not ſee an End. And this pernicious Counſel cloſed very well with the Poſture of Affairs at that Time: For a Set of Upſtarts, who had little or no Part in the *Revolution*, but valued themſelves upon their Noiſe and pretended Zeal, when the Work was over were got into Credit at Court, by the Merit of becoming Undertakers and Projectors of Loans and Funds: Theſe, finding that the Gentlemen of Eſtates were not willing to come into their Meaſures, fell upon thoſe new Schemes of raiſing Money, in order to create a Moneyed Intereſt, that might in Time vie with the Landed, and of which they hoped to be at the Head.

The Ground of the firſt War, for ten Years after the *Revolution*, as to the Part we had in it, was, to make *France* acknowledge the late King, and to recover *Hudſon's Bay*. But, during that whole War, the Sea was almoſt entirely neglected, and the greateſt Part of Six Millions annually employed to enlarge the Frontier of the *Dutch*. For the King was a General, but not an Admiral; and, although King of *England*, was a Native of *Holland*.

After ten Years Fighting to little purpoſe; after the Loſs of above a hundred thouſand Men, and a Debt remaining of twenty Millions, we at length hearkened to the Terms of Peace, which was concluded with great Ad-

vantages to the *Empire* and *Holland*, but none at all to us; and clogged soon after with the famous Treaty of *Partition*; by which *Naples*, *Sicily* and *Lorrain*, were to be added to the *French* Dominions; or if that Crown should think fit to set aside the Treaty, upon the *Spaniards* refusing to accept it, as they declared they would, to the several Parties at the very Time of transacting it, then the *French* would have Pretensions to the whole Monarchy. And so it proved in the Event; for the late King of *Spain*, reckoning it an Indignity to have his Territories cantoned out into Parcels by other Princes, during his own Life, and without his Consent, rather chose to bequeath the Monarchy entire to a younger Son of *France*; and this Prince was acknowledged for King of *Spain* both by Us and *Holland*.

It must be granted, that the Counsels of entering into this War were violently opposed by the *Church-Party*, who first advised the late King to acknowledge the Duke of *Anjou*; and particularly, it is affirmed, that a certain **Great Person*, who was then in the Church Interest, told the King, in *November* 1701, That, since his Majesty was determined to engage in a War so contrary to his private Opinion, he could serve him no longer, and accordingly gave up his Employment; altho' he happened afterwards to change his Mind, when he was to be at the Head of the Treasury, and have the sole Management of Affairs

* Earl of *Godolphin*.

at Home; while those Abroad were to be in the Hands of *One*, whose Advantage, by all sorts of Ties, he was engaged to promote.

The Declaration of War against *France* and *Spain*, made by Us and *Holland*, are dated within a few Days of each other. In that published by the *States*, they say very truly, That *they are nearest, and most exposed to the Fire*; that *they are blocked up on all Sides, and actually attacked by the Kings of* France *and* Spain; *that their Declaration is the Effect of an urging and pressing Necessity*; with other Expressions to the same Purpose. They *desire the Assistance of all Kings and Princes*, &c. The Grounds of their Quarrel with *France*, are such as only affect themselves, or at least more immediately than any other Prince or State; such as, *the* French *refusing to grant the* Tariff *promised by the Treaty of* Ryswick; *the loading the* Dutch *Inhabitants, settled in* France, *with excessive Duties, contrary to the said Treaty*; *the Violation of the* Partition-Treaty, *by the* French *accepting the King of* Spain's *Will, and threatning the* States, *if they would not comply*; *the seizing the* Spanish Netherlands *by the* French *Troops, and turning out the* Dutch, *who, by Permission of the late King of* Spain, *were in Garrison there*; *by which Means that Republick was deprived of her Barrier, contrary to the Treaty of* Partition, *where it was particularly stipulated, that the* Spanish Netherlands *should be left to the Archduke.* They alledged, that *the* French

* Duke of *Marlborough*.

King governed Flanders *as his own, although under the Name of his Grandson, and sent great Numbers of Troops thither to fright them; that he had seized the City and Citadel of* Liege; *had possessed himself of several Places in the Archbishoprick of* Cologne, *and maintained Troops in the County of* Wolfenbuttle, *in order to block up the* Dutch *on all Sides; and caused his Resident to give in a Memorial, wherein he threatned the* States *to act against them, if they refused complying with the Contents of that Memorial.*

The QUEEN's Declaration of War is grounded upon the *Grand Alliance*, as this was upon the unjust Usurpations and Encroachments of the *French* King; whereof the Instances produced are, *His keeping in Possession a great Part of the* Spanish *Dominions, seizing* Milan *and the* Spanish *Low Countries, making himself Master of* Cadiz, *&c. And, instead of giving Satisfaction in these Points, his putting an Indignity and Affront on her Majesty and Kingdom, by declaring the pretended Prince of* Wales *K. of* England, *&c.* which last was the only personal Quarrel we had in the War; and even this was positively denied by *France*; that King being willing to acknowledge Her Majesty.

I think it plainly appears by both Declarations, that *England* ought no more to have been a Principal in this War, than *Prussia*, or any other Power, who came afterwards into that Alliance. *Holland* was first in Danger, the

the *French* Troops being at that Time juſt at the Gates of *Nimeguen*. But the Complaints made in our Declaration do all, except the laſt, as much or more concern almoſt every Prince in *Europe*.

For, among the ſeveral Parties who came firſt or laſt into this Confederacy, there were few but who, in proportion, haſt more to get or to loſe, to hope or to fear, from the good or ill Succeſs of this War than we. The *Dutch* took up Arms to defend themſelves from immediate Ruin; and, by a ſucceſsful War, they propoſed to have a larger Extent of Country, and a better Frontier againſt *France*. The *Emperor* hoped to recover the Monarchy of *Spain*, or ſome Part of it, for his younger Son, chiefly at the Expence of us and *Holland*. The King of *Portugal* had received Intelligence, that *Philip* deſigned to renew the old Pretenſions of *Spain* upon that Kingdom, which is ſurrounded by the other on all Sides, except towards the Sea; and could therefore only be defended by *Maritime Powers*. This, with the advantageous Terms offered by K. *Charles*, as well as by us, prevailed upon that Prince to enter into the Alliance. The Duke of *Savoy*'s Temptations and Fears were yet greater: The main Charge of the War on that Side was to be ſupplied by *England*, and the Profit to redound to him. In caſe *Milan* ſhould be conquered, it was ſtipulated, that his Highneſs ſhould have the Duchy of *Montferrat*, belonging to the Duke of *Mantua*, the

Provinces of *Alexandria* and *Valencia*, and *Lomellino*, with other Lands between the *Po* and the *Tanaro*, together with the *Vigevenasco*, or, in lieu of it, an Equivalent out of the Province of *Novara*, adjoining to its own State; besides whatever else could be taken from *France* on that Side by the Confederate Forces. Then he was in terrible Apprehensions of being surrounded by *France*, who had so many Troops in the *Milanese*, and might have easily swallowed up his whole Duchy.

The rest of the Allies came in purely for Subsidies, whereof they sunk considerable Sums into their own Coffers, and refused to send their *Contingent* to the *Emperor*, alledging their Troops were already hired by *England* and *Holland*.

Some Time after the Duke of *Anjou*'s succeeding to the Monarchy of *Spain*, in Breach of the *Partition* Treaty, the Question here in *England* was, Whether the Peace should be continued, or a new War begun. Those who were for the former, alledged the Debts and Difficulties we laboured under; that both we and the *Dutch* had already acknowledged *Philip* for King of *Spain*; that the Inclinations of the *Spaniards* to the House of *Austria*, and their Aversion from that of *Bourbon*, were not so surely to be reckoned upon, as some would pretend; that we thought it a piece of Insolence, as well as Injustice, in the *French*, to offer putting a King upon us, and the *Spaniards* would conceive we had as little Reason to force one upon

upon them: that it was true, the Nature and Genius of those two People differed very much, and so would probably continue to do, as well under a King of *French* Blood, as one of *Austrian*; but that, if we should engage in a War for dethroning the Duke of *Anjou*, we should certainly effect what, by the Progress and Operations of it, we endeavoured to prevent, I mean, an Union of Interest and Affections between the two Nations; for the *Spaniards* must, of Necessity, call in *French* Troops to their Assistance; this would introduce *French* Counsellors into King *Philip*'s Court, and this, by Degrees, would habituate and reconcile the two Nations; that, to assist King *Charles* by *English* and *Dutch* Forces, would render him odious to his new Subjects, who have nothing in so great Abomination as those whom they hold for *Hereticks*; that the *French* would, by this Means, become Masters of the Treasures in the *Spanish West-Indies*; that, in the last War, when *Spain*, *Cologne*, and *Bavaria*, were in our Alliance, and, by a modest Computation, brought sixty thousand Men into the Field against the common Enemy, when *Flanders*, the Seat of War, was on our Side, and his Majesty, a Prince of great Valour and Conduct, at the Head of the whole Confederate Army; yet we had no Reason to boast of our Success; how then should we be able to oppose *France* with those Powers against us, which would carry sixty thousand Men from us to the Enemy; and to make us, upon the Balance,

Balance, weaker, by one hundred and twenty thouſand Men, at the Beginning of this War, than of that in 1688?

On the other Side, thoſe whoſe Opinion, or ſome private Motives, inclined them to give their Advice for entering into a new War, alledged, how dangerous it would be for *England*, that *Philip* ſhould be King of *Spain*; that we ſhould have no Security for our Trade, while that King was ſubject to a Prince of the *Bourbon* Family, nor any Hopes of preſerving the Balance of *Europe*, becauſe the Grandfather would, in effect, be King, while his Grandſon had but the Title, and thereby have a better Opportunity than ever of purſuing his Deſign for Univerſal Monarchy. Theſe, and the like Arguments prevailed; and ſo, without offering at any other Remedy, without taking time to conſider the Conſequences, or to reflect on our own Condition, we haſtily engaged in a War, which hath coſt us ſixty Millions; and after repeated, as well as unexpected, Succeſs in Arms, hath put us, and our Poſterity, in a worſe Condition, not only than any of our Allies, but even our conquered Enemies themſelves.

The Part we have acted in the Conduct of this whole War, with reference to our Allies abroad, and to a prevailing Faction at home, is what I ſhall now particularly examine; where, I preſume, it will appear, by plain Matters of Fact, that no Nation was ever ſo long, or ſo ſcandalouſly abuſed, by the Folly, the Temerity,

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rity, the Corruption, and the Ambition of its domeſtick Enemies; or treated with ſo much Inſolence, Injuſtice, and Ingratitude, by its foreign Friends.

This will be manifeſt by proving the Three following Points:

Firſt, That, againſt all manner of Prudence, or common Reaſon, we engaged in this War as Principals, when we ought to have acted only as Auxiliaries.

Secondly, That we ſpent all our Vigour in purſuing that Part of the War, which could leaſt anſwer the End we propoſed by beginning it; and made no Efforts at all where we could have moſt weakened the Common Enemy, and, at the ſame Time, enriched ourſelves.

Laſtly, That we ſuffered each of our Allies to break every Article in thoſe Treaties and Agreements by which they were bound; and to lay the Burthen upon us.

Upon the firſt of theſe Points; That we ought to have entered into this War only as Auxiliaries: Let any Man reflect upon our Condition at that Time: Juſt come out of the moſt tedious, expenſive, and unſucceſsful War that ever *England* had been engaged in; ſinking under heavy Debts, of a Nature and Degree never heard of by us, or our Anceſtors; the Bulk of the Gentry and People heartily tired of the War, and glad of a Peace, although it brought no other Advantage but itſelf; no ſudden

ſudden Proſpect of leſſening our Taxes, which were grown as neceſſary to pay our Debts, as to raiſe Armies; a ſort of artificial Wealth of Funds and Stocks in the Hands of thoſe, who, for ten Years before, had been plundering the Publick; many Corruptions in every Branch of our Government that needed Reformation. Under theſe Difficulties, from which twenty Years Peace, and the wiſeſt Management, could hardly recover us, we declare War againſt *France*, fortified by the Acceſſion and Alliance of thoſe Powers I mentioned before, and which, in the former War, had been Parties in our Confederacy. It is very obvious what a Change muſt be made in the Balance, by ſuch Weights taken out of our Scale, and put into theirs; ſince it was manifeſt, by ten Years Experience, that *France*, without thoſe Additions of Strength, was able to maintain itſelf againſt us. So that human Probability ran, with mighty Odds, on the other Side; and, in this Caſe, nothing under the moſt extreme Neceſſity ſhould force any State to engage in a War. We had already acknowledged *Philip* for King of *Spain*; neither does the QUEEN's Declaration of War take Notice of the Duke of *Anjou*'s Succeſſion to that Monarchy as a Subject of Quarrel; but the *French* King's governing it as if it were his own; his ſeizing *Cadiz*, *Milan*, and the *Spaniſh Low-Countries*, with the Indignity of proclaiming the *Pretender*. In all which we charge that Prince with nothing directly relating to us, excepting the laſt: And this, although

though indeed a great Affront, might eaſily have been redreſſed without a War; for the *French* Court declared they did not acknowledge the *Pretender*, but only gave him the Title of King, which was allowed to *Auguſtus* by his Enemy of *Sweden*, who had driven him out of *Poland*, and forced him to acknowledge *Staniſlaus*.

It is true, indeed, the Danger of the *Dutch*, by ſo ill a Neighbourhood in *Flanders*, might affect us very much in the Conſequences of it; and the Loſs of *Spain* to the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*, if it ſhould be governed by *French* Influence, and *French* Politicks, might, in Time, be very pernicious to our Trade. It would therefore have been prudent, as well as generous and charitable, to help our Neighbour; and ſo we might have done without injuring ourſelves; for, by an old Treaty with *Holland*, we were bound to aſſiſt that Republick with Ten thouſand Men, whenever they were attacked by the *French*; whoſe Troops, upon the King of *Spain*'s Death, taking Poſſeſſion of *Flanders*, in Right of *Philip*, and ſecuring the *Dutch* Garriſons till they would acknowledge him, the *States-General*, by Memorials from their Envoy here, demanded only the Ten thouſand Men we were obliged to give them by Virtue of that Treaty. And I make no doubt but *Holland* would have exerted themſelves ſo vigorouſly, as to be able, with that Aſſiſtance alone, to defend their Frontiers; or, if they had been forced to a Peace, the *Spaniards*, who abhor diſmembering

bering their Monarchy, would never have ſuffered the *French* to poſſeſs themſelves of *Flanders*. At that Time they had none of thoſe Endearments to each other, which this War hath created; and whatever Hatred or Jealouſy were natural between the two Nations, would then have appeared. So that there was no ſort of Neceſſity for us to proceed further, although we had been in a better Condition. But our Politicians at that Time had other Views; and a new War muſt be undertaken upon the Advice of thoſe, who, with their Partiſans and Adherents, were to be the ſole Gainers by it. A Grand Alliance was therefore made between the *Emperor*, *England*, and the *States-General*; by which, if the Injuries complained of from *France* were not remedied in two Months, the Parties concerned were obliged mutually to aſſiſt each other *with their whole Strength*.

Thus we became Parties in a War, in Conjunction with two Allies, whoſe Share in the Quarrel was, beyond all Proportion, greater than ours. However, I can ſee no Reaſon, from the Words of the Grand Alliance, by which we were obliged to make thoſe prodigious Expences we have ſince been at. By what I have always heard and read, I take the *whole Strength of a Nation*, as underſtood in that Treaty, to be the utmoſt that a Prince can raiſe annually from his Subjects. If he be forced to mortgage and borrow, whether at home or abroad, it is not, properly ſpeaking, *his own Strength*, or that of the Nation, but the entire Sub-

Subſtance of particular Perſons, which, not being able to raiſe out of the annual Income of his Kingdom, he takes upon Security, and can only pay the Intereſt. And, by this Method, one Part of the Nation is pawned to the other, with hardly a Poſſibility left of being ever redeemed.

Surely it would have been enough for us to have ſuſpended the Payment of our Debts contracted in the former War; and to have continued our Land and Malt Tax, with thoſe others which have ſince been mortgaged: Theſe, with ſome Additions, would have made up ſuch a Sum, as, with prudent Management, might, I ſuppoſe, have maintained an hundred thouſand Men by Sea and Land; a reaſonable *Quota* in all Conſcience for that Ally, who apprehended leaſt Danger, and expected leaſt Advantage. Nor can we imagine, that either of the Confederates, when the War began, would have been ſo unreaſonable, as to refuſe joining with us upon ſuch a Foot, and expect that we ſhould every Year go between three and four Millions in Debt (which hath been our Caſe) becauſe the *French* could hardly have contrived any Offers of a Peace ſo ruinous to us as ſuch a War. Poſterity will be at a Loſs to conceive what kind of Spirit could poſſeſs their Anceſtors, who, after ten Years Suffering, by the unexampled Politicks of a Nation, maintaining a War by annually pawning itſelf; and, during a ſhort Peace, while they were looking back with Horror on the

heavy Loads of Debts they had contracted, universally condemning those pernicious Counsels which had occasioned them, racking their Invention for some Remedies or Expedients to mend their shattered Condition; I say, that these very People, without giving themselves Time to breathe, should again enter into a more dangerous, chargeable, and extensive War, for the same, or perhaps a greater Period of Time, and without any apparent Necessity. It is obvious, in a private Fortune, that whoever annually runs out, and continues the same Expences, must every Year mortgage a greater Quantity of Land than he did before; and, as the Debt doubles and trebles upon him, so doth his Inability to pay it. By the same Proportion we have suffered twice as much by this last ten Years War, as we did by the former; and, if it were possible to continue it five Years longer at the same Rate, it would be as great a Burthen as the whole twenty. This Computation being so easy and trivial, as it is almost a Shame to mention it, Posterity will think, that those who first advised the War wanted either the Sense, or the Honesty to consider it.

And as we have wasted our Strength and vital Substance in this profuse Manner, so we have shamefully misapplied it to Ends at least very different from those for which we undertook the War, and often to effect others, which, after a Peace, we may severely repent. This is the second Article I proposed to examine. We

We have now, for ten Years together, turned the whole Force and Expence of the War, where the Enemy was beſt able to hold us at a Bay, where we could propoſe no Manner of Advantage to ourſelves, where it was highly impolitick to enlarge our Conqueſts, utterly neglecting that Part which would have ſaved and gained us many Millions, which the perpetual Maxims of our Government teach us to purſue, which would have ſooneſt weakened the Enemy, and muſt either have promoted a ſpeedy Peace, or enabled us to continue the War.

Thoſe who are fond of continuing the War cry up our conſtant Succeſs at a moſt prodigious Rate, and reckon it infinitely greater than, in all human Probability, we had Reaſon to hope. Ten glorious Campaigns are paſſed, and now, at laſt, like the ſick Man, we are juſt expiring with all Sorts of good Symptoms. Did the Adviſers of this War ſuppoſe it would continue ten Years, without expecting the Succeſs we have had; and yet at the ſame Time determine, that *France* muſt be reduced, and *Spain* ſubdued, by employing our whole Strength upon *Flanders*? Did they believe the laſt War left us in a Condition to furniſh ſuch vaſt Supplies for ſo long a Period, without involving us, and our Poſterity, in unextricable Debts? If, after ſuch miraculous *Doings*, we are not yet in a Condition of bringing *France* to our

Terms, nor can tell when we ſhall be ſo, altho' we ſhould proceed without any Reverſe of Fortune; what could we look for, in the ordinary Courſe of Things, but a *Flanders* War of at leaſt twenty Years longer? Do they indeed think a Town taken for the *Dutch* is a ſufficient Recompence to us for ſix Millions of Money? Which is of ſo little Conſequence to determine the War, that the *French* may yet hold out a dozen Years more, and afford a Town every Campaign at the ſame Price.

I ſay not this, by any means, to detract from the Army, or its Leaders. Getting into the Enemy's Lines, paſſing Rivers, and taking Towns, may be Actions attended with many glorious Circumſtances: But when all this brings no real, ſolid Advantage to us; when it hath no other End than to enlarge the Territories of the *Dutch*, and increaſe the Fame and Wealth of our *General*; I conclude, however it comes about, that Things are not as they ſhould be; and that ſurely our Forces and Money might be better employed, both towards reducing our Enemy, and working out ſome Benefit to ourſelves. But the Caſe is ſtill much harder; we are deſtroying many thouſand Lives, exhauſting our Subſtance, not for our own Intereſt, which would be but common Prudence; not for a Thing indifferent, which would be ſufficient Folly; but perhaps to our own Deſtruction, which is perfect Madneſs. We may live to feel the Effects of our own Valour more ſenſibly than all the Conſequences we imagine from

from the Dominions of *Spain* in the Duke of *Anjou*. We have conquered a noble Territory for the *States*, that will maintain ſufficient Troops to defend itſelf, and feed many hundred thouſand Inhabitants, where all Encouragement will be given to introduce and improve Manufactures, which was the only Advantage they wanted; and which, added to their Skill, Induſtry, and Parſimony, will enable them to under-ſell us in every Market of the World.

Our Supply of Forty thouſand Men, according to the firſt Stipulation, added to the Quota's of the *Emperor* and *Holland*, which they were obliged to furniſh, would have made an Army of near Two hundred thouſand, excluſive of Garriſons. Enough to withſtand all the Power that *France* could bring againſt it; and we might have employed the reſt much better, both for the common Cauſe, and our own Advantage.

The War in *Spain* muſt be imputed to the Credulity of our Miniſters, who ſuffered themſelves to be perſuaded by the Imperial Court, that the *Spaniards* were ſo violently affected to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, as, upon the firſt Appearance there, with a few Troops under the Archduke, the whole Kingdom would immediately revolt. This we tried; and found the *Emperor* to have deceived either us or himſelf. Yet there we drove on the War at a prodigious Diſadvantage, with great Expence; and, by a

moſt corrupt Management, the only * General, who, by a Courſe of Conduct and Fortune, almoſt miraculous, had nearly put us into Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, was left wholly unſupported, expoſed to the Envy of his Rivals, diſappointed by the Caprices of a young unexperienced Prince, under the Guidance of a rapacious *German* Miniſtry, and, at laſt, called home in Diſcontent. By which our Armies, both in *Spain* and *Portugal*, were made a Sacrifice to Avarice, ill Conduct, or Treachery.

In common Prudence we ſhould either have puſhed that War with the utmoſt Vigour, in ſo fortunate a Juncture, eſpecially ſince the gaining that Kingdom was the great Point for which we pretended to continue the War; or, at leaſt, when we had *found*, or *made* that Deſign impracticable, we ſhould not have gone on in ſo expenſive a Management of it; but have kept our Troops on the defenſive in *Catalonia*, and purſued ſome other Way, more effectual for diſtreſſing the common Enemy, and advantaging ourſelves.

And what a noble Field of Honour and Profit had we before us, where to employ the beſt of our Strength, which, againſt all Maxims of *Britiſh* Policy, we ſuffered to lie wholly neglected! I have ſometimes wondered how it came to paſs, that the Style of *Maritime Powers*,

* *The Earl of* Peterborough.

by

by which our Allies, in a ſort of contemptuous manner, uſually couple us with the *Dutch*, did never put us in mind of the Sea; and, while ſome Politicians were ſhewing us the Way to *Spain* by *Flanders*, others by *Savoy* or *Naples*, that the *Weſt-Indies* ſhould never come into their Heads. With half the Charge we have been at, we might have maintained our original *Quota* of Forty thouſand Men in *Flanders*, and, at the ſame time, by our Fleets and naval Forces, have ſo diſtreſſed the *Spaniards* in the North and South Seas of *America*, as to prevent any Returns of Money from thence, except in our own Bottoms. This is what beſt became us to do, as a *Maritime Power*; this, with any common Degree of Succeſs, would ſoon have compelled *France* to the Neceſſities of a Peace, and *Spain* to acknowledge the Archduke. But while we, for ten Years, have been ſquandering away our Money upon the Continent, *France* hath been wiſely engroſſing all the Trade of *Peru*, going directly with their Ships to *Lima*, and other Ports, and there receiving Ingots of Gold and Silver for *French* Goods of little Value; which, beſides the mighty Advantage to their Nation at preſent, may divert the Channel of that Trade for the future, ſo beneficial to us, who uſed to receive annually ſuch vaſt Sums at *Cadiz*, for our Goods ſent thence to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*. All this we tamely ſaw and ſuffered, without the leaſt Attempt to hinder it; except what was performed by ſome private Men at *Briſtol*, who, inflamed

inflamed by a true Spirit of Courage and Induſtry, did, about three Years ago, with a few Veſſels, fitted out at their own Charge, make a moſt ſucceſsful Voyage into thoſe Parts; took one of the *Aquapulco* Ships, very narrowly miſſed of the other, and are lately returned laden with unenvied Wealth; to ſhew us what might have been done with the like Management by a publick Undertaking. At leaſt we might eaſily have prevented thoſe great Returns of Money to *France* and *Spain*, altho' we could not have taken it ourſelves. And if it be true, as the Advocates for War would have it, that the *French* are now ſo impoveriſhed, in what Condition muſt they have been, if that Iſſue of Wealth had been ſtopped?

But great Events often turn upon very ſmall Circumſtances. It was the Kingdom's Misfortune that the Sea was not the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Element; otherwiſe the whole Force of the War would infallibly have been beſtowed there, infinitely to the Advantage of his Country, which would then have gone hand in hand with his own. But it is very truly objected, that, if we alone had made ſuch an Attempt as this, *Holland* would have been jealous; or, if we had done it in conjunction with *Holland*, the Houſe of *Auſtria* would have been diſcontented. This hath been the Style of late Years; which whoever introduced among us, they have taught our Allies to ſpeak after them. Otherwiſe it could hardly enter into any Imagination, that, while we are Confederates

federates in a War with thoſe who are to have the whole Profit, and who leave a double Share of the Burthen upon us, we dare not think of any Deſign, although againſt the common Enemy, where there is the leaſt Proſpect of doing Good to our own Country, for fear of giving Umbrage and Offence to our Allies; while we are ruining ourſelves to conquer Provinces and Kingdoms for them. I therefore confeſs, with Shame, that this Objection is true: For it is very well known, that while the Deſign of Mr. *Hill*'s Expedition remained a Secret, it was ſuſpected, in *Holland* and *Germany*, to be intended againſt *Peru*; whereupon the *Dutch* made every where their publick Complaints; and the Miniſters at *Vienna* talked of it, as an *Inſolence in the* QUEEN *to attempt ſuch an Undertaking*; which, although it has failed, partly by the Accidents of a Storm, and partly by the Stubbornneſs or Treachery of ſome in that Colony, for whoſe Relief, and at whoſe Entreaty, it was, in ſome meaſure, deſigned, is no Objection at all to an Enterprize ſo well concerted, and with ſuch fair Probability of Succeſs.

It was ſomething ſingular that the *States* ſhould expreſs their Uneaſineſs, when they thought we intended to make ſome Attempt in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*; becauſe it is agreed between us, that whatever is conquered there by us or them ſhall belong to the Conqueror; which is the only Article that I can call to mind, in all our Treaties or Stipulations, with any View of

Intereſt

Intereſt to this Kingdom; and for that very Reaſon, I ſuppoſe, among others, hath been altogether neglected. Let thoſe, who think this too ſevere a Reflection, examine the whole Management of the War, by Sea and Land, with all our Alliances, Treaties, Stipulations, and Conventions, and conſider, whether the whole doth not look as if ſome particular Care and Induſtry had been uſed to prevent any Benefit or Advantage that might poſſibly accrue to *Britain?*

This kind of Treatment from our two principal Allies, hath taught the ſame Dialect to all the reſt; ſo that there is not a petty Prince, whom we half maintain by Subſidies and Penſions, who is not ready, upon every Occaſion, to threaten us, that he will recal his Troops (although they muſt rob or ſtarve at home) if we refuſe to comply with him in any Demand, however unreaſonable.

Upon the third Head, I ſhall produce ſome Inſtances, to ſhew how tamely we have ſuffered each of our Allies to infringe every Article in thoſe Treaties and Stipulations by which they were bound, and to lay the Load upon us.

But, before I enter upon this, which is a large Subject, I ſhall take leave to offer a few Remarks on certain Articles in three of our Treaties; which may let us perceive, how much thoſe Miniſters valued, or underſtood the true Intereſt, Safety, or Honour of their Country.

We

We have made two Alliances with *Portugal*, an Offenſive and Defenſive: The firſt is to remain in Force only during the preſent War; the ſecond to be perpetual. In the Offenſive Alliance, the *Emperor*, *England*, and *Holland* are Parties with *Portugal*; in the Defenſive, only we and the *States*.

Upon the firſt Article of the Offenſive Alliance it is to be obſerved, that although the Grand Alliance, as I have already ſaid, allows *England* and *Holland* to poſſeſs for their own whatever each of them ſhall conquer in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*; yet there we are quite cut out, by conſenting, that the Archduke ſhall poſſeſs the Dominions of *Spain* in as full a manner as their late King *Charles*. And, what is more remarkable, we broke this very Article, in Favour of *Portugal*, by ſubſequent Stipulations; where we agree, that King *Charles* ſhall deliver up *Eſtramadura*, *Vigo*, and ſome other Places, to the *Portugueſe*, as ſoon as we can conquer them from the Enemy. They who are guilty of ſo much Folly and Contradiction, know beſt whether it proceeded from Corruption or Stupidity.

By two other Articles (beſides the Honour of being Convoys and Guards in ordinary to the *Portugueſe* Ships and Coaſts) we are to gueſs the Enemy's Thoughts, and to take the King of *Portugal*'s Word, whenever he hath a Fancy, that he ſhall be invaded. We are alſo to furniſh him with a Strength ſuperior to what the Enemy intends to invade any of his Dominions

nions with, let that be what it will. And, until we know what the Enemy's Forces are, his *Portugueſe* Majeſty is ſole Judge what Strength is ſuperior, and what will be able to prevent an Invaſion; and may ſend our Fleets, whenever he pleaſes, upon his Errands, to ſome of the further Parts of the World, or keep them attending, upon his own Coaſts, till he think fit to diſmiſs them. Theſe Fleets muſt likewiſe be ſubject, in all Things, not only to the King, but to his Viceroys, Admirals, and Governors, in any of his foreign Dominions, when he is in an Humour to apprehend an Invaſion; which, I believe, is an Indignity that was never offered before, except to a conquered Nation.

In the Defenſive Alliance with that Crown, which is to remain perpetual, and where only *England* and *Holland* are Parties with them, the ſame Care, in almoſt the ſame Words, is taken for our Fleet to attend their Coaſts and foreign Dominions, and to be under the ſame Obedience. We and the *States* are likewiſe to furniſh them with twelve thouſand Men at our own Charge, which we are conſtantly to recruit; and theſe are to be ſubject to the *Portugueſe* Generals.

In the Offenſive Alliance we took no care of having the Aſſiſtance of *Portugal*, whenever we ſhould be invaded. But in this, it ſeems, we are wiſer; for that King is obliged to make War on *France* or *Spain*, whenever we or *Holland* are invaded by either; but, before this, we are to ſupply them with the ſame Forces, both by Sea

and

and Land, as if he were invaded himſelf. And this muſt needs be a very prudent and ſafe Courſe for a *Maritime Power* to take upon a ſudden Invaſion; by which, inſtead of making uſe of our Fleets and Armies for our own Defence, we muſt ſend them abroad for the Defence of *Portugal*.

By the thirteenth Article we are told, what this Aſſiſtance is, which the *Portugueſe* are to give us, and upon what Conditions. They are to furniſh ten Men of War; and when *England* and *Holland* ſhall be invaded by *France* and *Spain* together, or by *Spain* alone, in either of theſe Caſes thoſe ten *Portugueſe* Men of War are to ſerve only upon their own Coaſts, where, no doubt, they will be of mighty Uſe to their Allies, and Terror to the Enemy.

How the *Dutch* were drawn to have a Part in either of theſe two Alliances, is not very material to enquire, ſince they have been ſo wiſe as never to obſerve them; and I ſuppoſe, never intended it; but reſolved, as they have ſince done, to ſhift the Load upon us.

Let any Man read theſe two Treaties from the Beginning to the End, he will imagine, that the King of *Portugal* and his Miniſters ſat down and made them by themſelves, and then ſent them to their Allies to ſign; the whole Spirit and Tenor of them, quite through, running only upon this ſingle Point, What we and *Holland* are to do for *Portugal*, without any mention of an Equivalent, except thoſe ten Ships, which, at the Time when we have

greateſt Need of their Aſſiſtance, are obliged to attend upon their own Coaſts.

The Barrier Treaty, between *Great Britain* and *Holland*, was concluded at the *Hague*, on the 29th of *October*, in the Year 1709. In this Treaty neither Her Majeſty nor Her Kingdoms have any Intereſt or Concern, farther than what is mentioned in the ſecond and the twentieth Articles: By the former, the *States* are to aſſiſt the QUEEN in defending the Act of Succeſſion; and, by the other, not to treat of a Peace, till *France* hath acknowledged the QUEEN, and the Succeſſion of *Hanover*, and promiſed to removed the *Pretender* out of that King's Dominions.

As to the firſt of theſe, it is certainly for the Safety and Intereſt of the *States-General*, that the Proteſtant Succeſſion ſhould be preſerved in *England*; becauſe ſuch a *Popiſh* Prince, as we apprehended, would infallibly join with *France* in the Ruin of that Republick. And the *Dutch* are as much bound to ſupport our Succeſſion, as they are tied to any Part of a Treaty or League, offenſive and defenſive, againſt a common Enemy, without any ſeparate Benefit upon that Conſideration. Her Majeſty is in the full, peaceable Poſſeſſion of her Kingdoms, and of the Hearts of her People; among whom, hardly one in five thouſand are in the *Pretender*'s Intereſt. And, whether the Aſſiſtance of the *Dutch*, to preſerve a Right ſo well eſtabliſhed, be an Equivalent to thoſe many unreaſonable, exorbitant Articles in the reſt of

the

the Treaty, let the World judge. What an Impreſſion of our Settlement muſt it give abroad, to ſee our Miniſters offering ſuch Conditions to the *Dutch*, to prevail on them to be Guarantees of our Acts of Parliament! Neither, perhaps, is it right, in Point of Policy or good Senſe, that a foreign Power ſhould be called in to confirm our Succeſſion by way of Guarantee, but only to acknowledge it. Otherwiſe we put it out of the Power of our own Legiſlature to change our Succeſſion, without the Conſent of that Prince or State who is Guarantee, how much ſoever the Neceſſities of the Kingdom may require it.

As to the other Article, it is a neceſſary Conſequence that muſt attend any Treaty of Peace we can make with *France*; being only the Acknowledgment of Her Majeſty as QUEEN of her own Dominions, and the Right of Succeſſion by our own Laws, which no foreign Power hath any Pretence to diſpute.

However, in order to deſerve theſe mighty Advantages from the *States*, the reſt of the Treaty is wholly taken up in directing what we are to do for them.

By the grand Alliance, which was the Foundation of the preſent War, the *Spaniſh Low-Countries* were to be recovered, and delivered to the King of *Spain*; but by this Treaty, that Prince is to poſſeſs nothing in *Flanders* during the War; and, after a Peace, the *States* are to have the Military Command of about twenty Towns, with their Dependencies, and

four hundred thouſand Crowns a Year from the King of *Spain*, to maintain their Garriſons. By which Means they will have the Command of all *Flanders*, from *Newport* on the Sea to *Namur* on the *Maeſe*, and be entirely Maſters of the *Pais de Waas*, the richeſt Part of thoſe Provinces. Further, they have Liberty to garriſon any Place they ſhall think fit in the *Spaniſh Low-Countries*, whenever there is an Appearance of War; and conſequently to put Garriſons into *Oſtend*, or where elſe they pleaſe, upon a Rupture with *England*.

By this Treaty likewiſe the *Dutch* will, in effect, be entire Maſters of all the *Low-Countries*; may impoſe Duties, Reſtrictions in Commerce, and Prohibitions at their Pleaſure; and, in that fertile Country, may ſet up all ſorts of Manufactures, particularly the Woollen, by inviting the diſobliged Manufacturers in *Ireland*, and the *French* Refugees, who are ſcattered all over *Germany*. And, as this Manufacture increaſeth abroad, the clothing People of *England* will be neceſſitated, for want of Employment, to follow; and, in a few Years, by help of the low Intereſt of Money in *Holland*, *Flanders* may recover that beneficial Trade which we got from them. The Landed Men of *England* will then be forced to reeſtabliſh the Staples of Wool abroad; and the *Dutch*, inſtead of being only the Carriers, will become the original Poſſeſſors of thoſe Commodities, with which the greateſt Part of the Trade of the World is now carried on.

And,

And, as they increaſe their Trade, it is obvious, they will enlarge their Strength at Sea, and that ours muſt leſſen in Proportion.

All the Ports in *Flanders* are to be ſubject to the like Duties that the *Dutch* ſhall lay upon the *Scheld*, which is to be cloſed on the Side of the *States*: Thus all other Nations are, in effect, ſhut out from trading with *Flanders*. Yet, in the very ſame Article, it is ſaid, that the *States ſhall be favoured in all the* Spaniſh *Dominions as much as* Great Britain, *or as the People moſt favoured*. We have conquered *Flanders* for them, and are in a worſe Condition, as to our Trade there, than before the War began. We have been the great Support of the King of *Spain*, to whom the *Dutch* have hardly contributed any thing at all; and yet *they are to be equally favoured with us in all his Dominions*. Of all this the QUEEN is under the unreaſonable Obligation of being Guarantee, and that they ſhall poſſeſs their Barrier, and their four hundred thouſand Crowns a Year, even before a Peace.

It is to be obſerved, that this Treaty was only ſigned by one of our Plenipotentiaries; and I have been told, that the other was heard to ſay, he would rather loſe his Right-hand, than to ſet it to ſuch a Treaty. Had he ſpoke thoſe Words in due Seaſon, and loud enough to be heard on this Side the Water, conſidering the Credit he had then at Court, he might have ſaved much of his Country's Honour, and got as much to himſelf; therefore, if the Re-

port be true, I am inclined to think he only SAID it. I have been likewiſe told, that ſome very neceſſary Circumſtances were wanting in the Entrance upon this Treaty; but the Miniſters here rather choſe to ſacrifice the Honour of the Crown, and the Safety of their Country, than not ratify what one of their Favourites had tranſacted.

Let me now conſider in what manner our Allies have obſerved thoſe Treaties they have made with us, and the ſeveral Stipulations and Agreements purſuant to them.

By the grand Alliance between the *Empire*, *England*, and *Holland*, we were to aſſiſt the other two, *totis viribus*, by Sea and Land. By a Convention ſubſequent to this Treaty, the Proportions which the ſeveral Parties ſhould contribute towards the War, were adjuſted in the following manner: The *Emperor* was obliged to furniſh ninety thouſand Men againſt *France*, either in *Italy*, or upon the *Rhine*; *Holland* to bring ſixty thouſand into the Field in *Flanders*, excluſive of Garriſons; and we forty thouſand. In Winter 1702, which was the next Year, the Duke of *Marlborough* propoſed the raiſing of ten thouſand Men more, by way of Augmentation, and to carry on the War with greater Vigour; to which the Parliament agreed, and the *Dutch* were to raiſe the ſame Number. This was upon a *Par*, directly contrary to the former Stipulation, whereby our Part was to be a third leſs than theirs; and therefore it was granted, with a Condition that

that *Holland* ſhould break off all Trade and Commerce with *France*. But this Condition was never executed, the *Dutch* only amuſing us with a ſpecious Declaration, till our Seſſion of Parliament was ended; and, the following Year, it was taken off, by concert between our *General* and the *States*, without any Reaſon aſſigned, for the Satisfaction of the Kingdom. The next, and ſome enſuing Campaigns, further additional Forces were allowed by Parliament for the War in *Flanders*; and, in every new Supply, the *Dutch* gradually leſſened their Proportions, although the Parliament addreſſed the QUEEN, that the *States* might be deſired to obſerve them according to Agreement; which had no other Effect than to teach them to elude it, by making their Troops nominal Corps, as they did by keeping up the Number of Regiments, but ſinking a fifth Part of the Men and Money; ſo that now Things are juſt inverted. And, in all new Levies, we contributed a third more than the *Dutch*, who at firſt, were obliged to the ſame Proportion more than us.

Beſides, the more Towns we conquer for the *States*, the worſe Condition we are in towards reducing the common Enemy, and conſequently of putting an End to the War. For they make no Scruple of employing the Troops of their *Quota* towards garriſoning every Town as faſt as it is taken; directly contrary to the Agreement between us, by which all Garriſons are particularly excluded.

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This is at length arrived by ſeveral Steps to ſuch a Height, that there are at preſent in the Field, not ſo many Forces under the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Command in *Flanders*, as *Britain* alone maintains for that Service, nor have been for ſome Years paſt.

The Duke of *Marlborough* having entered the Enemy's Lines, and taken *Bouchain*, formed the Deſign of keeping as great a Number of Troops, and particularly of Cavalry, in *Liſle*, *Tournay*, *Douay*, and the Country between, as ſhould be able to haraſs all the neighbouring Provinces of *France* during the Winter, prevent the Enemy from erecting their Magazines, and by conſequence from ſubſiſting their Forces next Spring, and render it impoſſible for them to aſſemble their Army another Year, without going back behind the *Soame* to do it. In order to effect this Project, it was neceſſary to be at an Expence extraordinary of Forage for the Troops, for building Stables, finding Fire and Candle for the Soldiers, with other incident Charges. The QUEEN readily agreed to furniſh her Share of the firſt Article, that of the Forage, which only belonged to her. But the *States* inſiſting that Her Majeſty ſhould likewiſe come into a Proportion of the other Articles, which, in Juſtice, belonged totally to them; ſhe agreed even to that, rather than a Deſign of this Importance ſhould fail. And yet we know it hath failed, and that the *Dutch* refuſed their Conſent, till the Time was paſt for putting it

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in Execution, even in the Opinion of thoſe who propoſed it. Perhaps a certain Article in the Treaties of Contributions, ſubmitted to by ſuch of the *French* Dominions as pay them to the *States*, was the principal Cauſe of defeating this Project; ſince one great Advantage to have been gained by it, was, as is before mentioned, to have hindered the Enemy from erecting their Magazines; and one Article in thoſe Treaties of Contributions is, that the Product of thoſe Countries ſhall paſs free and unmoleſted. So that the Queſtion was reduced to this ſhort Iſſue: Whether the *Dutch* ſhould loſe this paltry Benefit, or the common Cauſe an Advantage of ſuch mighty Importance.

The Sea being the Element where we might moſt probably carry on the War with any Advantage to ourſelves, it was agreed that we ſhould bear five Eighths of the Charge in that Service, and the *Dutch* the other three; and, by the Grand Alliance, whatever we, or *Holland*, ſhould conquer in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, was to accrue to the Conquerors. It might therefore have been hoped, that this *Maritime Ally* of ours would have made up in their Fleet, what they fell ſhort in their Army; but quite otherwiſe, they never once furniſhed their *Quota* either of Ships or Men; or, if ſome few of their Fleet now and then appeared, it was no more than appearing; for they immediately ſeparated, to look to their Merchants, and protect their Trade. And we may remember very well, when theſe Guarantees

rantees of our Succeſſion, after having not one Ship for many Months together in the *Mediterranean*, ſent that Part of their *Quota* thither, and furniſhed nothing to us, at the ſame time that they alarmed us with the Rumour of an Invaſion. And, laſt Year, when Sir *James Wiſhart* was diſpatched into *Holland*, to expoſtulate with the *States*, and to deſire they would make good their Agreements in ſo important a Part of the Service; he met with ſuch a Reception as ill became a Republick to give, that were under ſo many great Obligations to us; in ſhort, ſuch an one as thoſe only deſerve, who are content to take it.

It hath likewiſe been no ſmall Inconvenience to us, that the *Dutch* are always ſlow in paying their Subſidies, by which Means the Weight and Preſſure of the Payment lies upon the QUEEN, as well as the Blame, if her Majeſty be not very exact. Nor will even this always content our Allies: For in *July* 1711, the King of *Spain* was paid all his Subſidies to the firſt of *January* next; nevertheleſs he hath ſince complained for want of Money; and his *Secretary* threatened, that if we would not further ſupply his Majeſty, he could not anſwer for what might happen; although King *Charles* had not at that Time one Third of the Troops for which he was paid; and even thoſe he had, were neither paid nor cloathed.

I cannot forbear mentioning here another Paſſage concerning Subſidies; to ſhew what Opinion

Opinion Foreigners have of our Easiness, and how much they reckon themselves Masters of our Money, whenever they think fit to call for it. The QUEEN was, by Agreement, to pay two hundred thousand Crowns a Year to the *Prussian* Troops; the *States* one hundred thousand; and the *Emperor* only thirty thousand, for recruiting; which his *Imperial* Majesty never paid. Prince *Eugene* happening to pass by *Berlin*, the Ministers of that Court applied to him for Redress in this Particular; and his Highness very frankly promised them, that, in Consideration of this Deficiency, *Britain* and the *States* should increase their Subsidies to seventy thousand Crowns more between them; and that the *Emperor* should be punctual for the Time to come. This was done by that Prince, without any Orders or Power whatsoever. The *Dutch* very reasonably refused consenting to it; but the *Prussian* Minister here, making his Applications at our Court, prevailed on us to agree to our Proportion, before we could hear what Resolution would be taken in *Holland*. It is therefore to be hoped, that his *Prussian* Majesty, at the End of this War, will not have the same Cause of Complaint, which he had at the Close of the last, that his Military Chest was emptier by twenty thousand Crowns than at the Time that War began.

The *Emperor*, as we have already said, was, by Stipulation, to furnish ninety thousand Men against the common Enemy, as having no Fleets to maintain, and, in Right of his Family, being

ing moſt concerned in the Succeſs of the War. However, this Agreement hath been ſo ill obſerved, that, from the Beginning of the War to this Day, neither of the two laſt *Emperors* had ever twenty thouſand Men, on their own Account, in the common Cauſe, excepting once in *Italy*, when the *Imperial* Court exerted itſelf in a Point they have much more at heart than that of gaining *Spain* or the *Indies* to their Family. When they had ſucceeded in their Attempts on the Side of *Italy*, and obſerved our blind Zeal for puſhing on the War at all Adventures, they ſoon found out the moſt effectual Expedient to excuſe themſelves. They computed eaſily, that it would coſt them leſs to make large Preſents to one ſingle Perſon, than to pay an Army, and turn to as good Account. They thought they could not put their Affairs into better Hands; and therefore wiſely left us to fight their Battles.

Beſides, it appeared, by ſeveral Inſtances, how little the *Emperor* valued his Allies, or the Cauſe they were engaged in, when once he thought the *Empire* itſelf was ſecure. It is known enough, that he might ſeveral Times have made a Peace with his diſcontented Subjects in *Hungary*, upon Terms not at all unbefitting either his Dignity or Intereſt; but he rather choſe to ſacrifice the whole Alliance to his private Paſſion, by entirely ſubduing and enſlaving a miſerable People, who had but too much Provocation to take up Arms, to free themſelves from the Oppreſſions under which they

they were groaning; yet this muſt ſerve as an Excuſe for breaking his Agreement, and diverting ſo great a Body of Troops, which might have been employed againſt *France*:

Another Inſtance of the *Emperor*'s Indifference, or rather Diſlike, to the common Cauſe of the Allies, is the Buſineſs of *Toulon*. This Deſign was diſcovered here at home, by a Perſon whom every body knows to be the Creature of a certain *Great Man*, at leaſt as much noted for his Skill in Gaming, as in Politicks, upon the baſe, mercenary End of getting Money by Wagers; which was then ſo common a Practice, that I remember a Gentleman in Buſineſs, who, having the Curioſity to enquire how Wagers went upon the *Exchange*, found ſome People, deep in the Secret, to have been concerned in that kind of Traffick; as appeared by Premiums named for Towns, which no body but thoſe behind the Curtain could ſuſpect. However, although this Project had gotten Wind by ſo ſcandalous a Proceeding; yet *Toulon* might probably have been taken, if the *Emperor* had not thought fit, in that very Juncture, to detach twelve or fifteen thouſand Men to ſeize *Naples*, as an Enterprize that was more his private and immediate Intereſt. But it was manifeſt, that his *Imperial* Majeſty had no Mind to ſee *Toulon* in Poſſeſſion of the Allies; for, even with theſe Diſcouragements, the Attempt might yet have ſucceeded, if Prince *Eugene* had not thought fit to oppoſe it; which cannot be imputed to his own Judgment, but

to ſome Politick Reaſons of his Court. The Duke of *Savoy* was for attacking the Enemy as ſoon as our Army arrived; but when the Mareſchal *de Theſſe*'s Troops were all come up, to pretend to beſiege the Place, in the Condition we were at that Time, was a Farce and a Jeſt. Had *Toulon* fallen then into our Hands, the maritime Power of *France* would, in a great meaſure, have been deſtroyed.

But a much greater Inſtance than either of the foregoing, how little the *Emperor* regarded us or our Quarrel, after all we had done to ſave his *Imperial* Crown, and to aſſert the Title of his Brother to the Monarchy of *Spain*, may be brought from the Proceedings of that Court not many Months ago. It was judged, that a War, carried upon the Side of *Italy*, would cauſe a great Diverſion of the *French* Forces, wound them in a very tender Part, and facilitate the Progreſs of our Arms in *Spain*, as well as *Flanders*. It was propoſed to the Duke of *Savoy* to make this Diverſion; and not only a Diverſion during the Summer, but the Winter too, by taking Quarters on this Side of the Hills. Only, in order to make him willing and able to perform this Work, two Points were to be ſettled: It was neceſſary to end the Diſpute between the *Imperial* Court and his Royal Highneſs, which had no other Foundation than the *Emperor*'s refuſing to make good ſome Articles of that Treaty, on the Faith of which the Duke engaged in the preſent

preſent War, and for the Execution whereof *Britain* and *Holland* became Guarantees, at the Requeſt of the late Emperor *Leopold*. To remove this Difficulty the Earl of *Peterborough* was diſpatched to *Vienna*, got over ſome Part of thoſe Diſputes to the Satisfaction of the Duke of *Savoy*, and had put the reſt in a fair Way of being accommodated, at the Time the Emperor *Joſeph* died. Upon which great Event the Duke of *Savoy* took the Reſolution of putting himſelf at the Head of the Army, although the whole Matter were not finiſhed, ſince the common Cauſe required his Aſſiſtance; and that until a new Emperor was elected, it was impoſſible to make good the Treaty to him. In order to enable him, the only thing he aſked was, that he ſhould be reinforced by the Imperial Court with eight thouſand Men before the End of the Campaign. Mr. *Whitworth* was ſent to *Vienna* to make this Propoſal; and it is credibly reported, that he was impowered, rather than fail, to offer forty thouſand Pounds for the March of thoſe eight thouſand Men; if he found it was want of Ability, and not Inclination, that hindered the ſending them. But he was ſo far from ſucceeding, that, it was ſaid, the Miniſters of that Court did not ſo much as give him an Opportunity to tempt them with any particular Sums; but cut off all his Hopes at once, by alledging the Impoſſibility of complying with the QUEEN's Demands upon any Conſideration whatſoever. They could not plead their old Excuſe of the

War in *Hungary*, which was then brought to an End. They had nothing to offer but ſome general, ſpeculative Reaſons, which it would expoſe them to repeat; and ſo, after much Delay, and many trifling Pretences, they utterly refuſed ſo ſmall and ſeaſonable an Aſſiſtance; to the Ruin of a Project that would have more terrified *France*, and cauſed a greater Diverſion of their Forces, than a much more numerous Army in any other Part. Thus, for want of eight thouſand Men, for whoſe Winter-Campaign the QUEEN was willing to give forty thouſand Pounds; and, for want of executing the Deſign I lately mentioned, of hindering the Enemy from erecting Magazines, towards which Her Majeſty was ready not only to bear Her own Proportion, but a Share of that which the *States* were obliged to; our Hopes of taking Winter-Quarters in the North and South Parts of *France* are eluded, and the War left in that Method, which is like to continue it longeſt. Can there an Example be given, in the whole Courſe of this War, where we have treated the pettieſt Prince, with whom we had to deal, in ſo contemptuous a Manner? Did we ever once conſider what we could afford, or what we were obliged to, when our Aſſiſtance was deſired, even while we lay under immediate Apprehenſions of being invaded?

When *Portugal* came, as a Confederate into the Grand Alliance, it was ſtipulated, that the Empire, *England* and *Holland*, ſhould each maintain

maintain four thouſand Men, of their own Troops, in that Kingdom, and pay between them a Million of Pattacoons to the King of *Portugal*, for the Support of twenty-eight thouſand *Portugueſe*; which Number of forty thouſand was to be the Confederate Army againſt *Spain* on the *Portugal* Side. This Treaty was ratified by all the three Powers. But, in a ſhort Time after, the *Emperor* declared himſelf unable to comply with his part of the Agreement, and ſo left the two Thirds upon us; who very generouſly undertook that Burthen, and, at the ſame time, two Thirds of the Subſidies for Maintenance of the *Portugueſe* Troops. But neither is this the worſt Part of the Story; for, although the *Dutch* did indeed ſend their own *Quota* of four thouſand Men to *Portugal* (which, however, they would not agree to, but upon Condition, that the other two Thirds ſhould be ſupplied by us;) yet they never took care to recruit them; for, in the Year 1706, the *Portugueſe*, *Britiſh*, and *Dutch* Forces, having marched with the Earl of *Galway* into *Caſtile*, and, by the noble Conduct of that General, being forced to retire into *Valencia*, it was found neceſſary to raiſe a new Army on the *Portugal* Side; where the QUEEN hath, at ſeveral times, encreaſed her Eſtabliſhment to ten thouſand five hundred Men; and the *Dutch* never replaced one ſingle Man, nor paid one Penny of their Subſidies to *Portugal* in ſix Years.

The *Spaniſh* Army, on the Side of *Catalonia*, is, or ought to be, about fifty thouſand Men, excluſive of *Portugal*. And here the War hath been carried on almoſt entirely at our Coſt. For this whole Army is paid by the QUEEN, excepting only ſeven Battalions and fourteen Squadrons of *Dutch* and *Palatines*; and even fifteen hundred of theſe are likewiſe in our Pay; beſides the Sums given to King *Charles* for Subſidies, and the Maintenance of his Court. Neither are our Troops at *Gibraltar* included within this Number. And further, we alone have been at all the Charge of tranſporting the Forces firſt ſent from *Genoa* to *Barcelona*; and of all the *Imperial* Recruits from time to time. And have likewiſe paid vaſt Sums as Levy-Money, for every individual Man and Horſe ſo furniſhed to recruit; although the Horſes were ſcarce worth the Price of Tranſportation. But this hath been almoſt the conſtant Misfortune of our Fleet, during the preſent War; inſtead of being employed on ſome Enterprize for the Good of the Nation, or even for the Protection of our Trade, to be wholly taken up in tranſporting Soldiers.

We have actually conquered all *Bavaria*, *Ulm*, *Augſburg*, *Landau*, and a great Part of *Alſace*, for the *Emperor*: And by the Troops we have furniſhed, the Armies we have paid, and the Diverſions we have given to the Enemies Forces, have chiefly contributed to the Conqueſts of *Milan*, *Mantua*, and *Mirandola*, and

to

to the Recovery of the Duchy of *Modena*. The laſt *Emperor* drained the Wealth of thoſe Countries into his own Coffers, without increaſing his Troops againſt *France*, by ſuch mighty Acquiſitions, or yielding to the moſt reaſonable Requeſts we have made.

Of the many Towns we have taken for the *Dutch*, we have conſented, by the Barrier-Treaty, that all thoſe which were not in the Poſſeſſion of *Spain*, upon the Death of the late Catholick King, ſhall be part of the *States* Dominions; and that they ſhall have the military Power in the moſt conſiderable of the reſt; which is, in effect, to be the abſolute Sovereigns of the whole. And the *Hollanders* have already made ſuch good Uſe of their Time, that, in Conjunction with our General, the Oppreſſions of *Flanders* are much greater than ever.

And this Treatment which we have received from our two principal Allies, hath been pretty well copied by moſt other Princes in the Confederacy, with whom we have any Dealings. For Inſtance: Seven *Portugueſe* Regiments after the Battle of *Almanza*, went off, with the reſt of that broken Army, to *Catalonia*; the King of *Portugal* ſaid, he was not able to pay them while they were out of his Country; the QUEEN conſented therefore to do it Herſelf, provided the King would raiſe as many more to ſupply their Place. This he engaged to do, but never performed. Notwithſtanding which, his Subſidies were conſtantly paid him by my Lord

Lord *Godolphin*, for almoſt four Years, without any Deduction, upon Account of thoſe ſeven Regiments; directly contrary to the ſeventh Article of our Offenſive Alliance with that Crown, where it is agreed, that a Deduction ſhall be made out of the thoſe Subſidies, in proportion to the number of Men wanting in that Complement which the King is to maintain. But whatever might have been the Reaſons for this Proceeding, it ſeems they are above the Underſtanding of the * preſent Lord *Treaſurer*; who, not entering into thoſe Refinements, of paying the *publick* Money upon *private* Conſiderations, hath been ſo uncourtly as to ſtop it. This Diſappointment, I ſuppoſe, hath put the Court of *Liſbon* upon other Expedients, of raiſing the Price of Forage, ſo as to force us either to leſſen our Number of Troops, or be at double Expence in maintaining them; and this at a Time when their own Product, as well as the Import of Corn, was never greater; and of demanding a Duty upon the Soldiers Cloaths we carried over for thoſe Troops, which have been their ſole Defence againſt an inveterate Enemy; and whoſe Example might have infuſed Courage, as well as taught them Diſcipline, if their Spirits had been capable of receiving either.

In order to augment our Forces every Year, in the ſame proportion as thoſe for whom we fight diminiſh theirs, we have been obliged to

* Earl of *Oxford*.

hire

hire Troops from ſeveral Princes of the Empire, whoſe Miniſters and Reſidents here have perpetually importuned the Court with unreaſonable Demands, under which our late Miniſters thought fit to be paſſive. For thoſe Demands were always backed with a Threat to recal their Soldiers; which was a thing not to be heard of, becauſe it might *diſcontent the Dutch*. In the mean time thoſe Princes never ſent their Contingent to the *Emperor*, as, by the Laws of the Empire, they are obliged to do; but gave for their Excuſe, that we had already hired all they could poſſibly ſpare.

But, if all this be true; if, according to what I have affirmed, we began this War contrary to Reaſon; if, as the other Party themſelves upon all Occaſions acknowledge, the Succeſs we have had was more than we could reaſonably expect; if, after all our Succeſs, we have not made that uſe of it, which in Reaſon we ought to have done; if we have made weak and fooliſh Bargains with our Allies; ſuffered them tamely to break every Article, even in thoſe Bargains to our Diſadvantage, and allowed them to treat us with Inſolence and Contempt, at the very Inſtant when we were gaining Towns, Provinces, and Kingdoms for them, at the Price of our Ruin, and without any Proſpect of Intereſt to ourſelves; if we have conſumed all our Strength in attacking the Enemy on the ſtrongeſt Side, where (as the old Duke of *Schomberg* expreſſed it) *to engage with* France, *was to take a Bull by the Horns*;

and

and left wholly unattempted that Part of the War, which could only enable us to continue, or to end it: If all this, I ſay, be our Caſe, it is a very obvious Queſtion to aſk, By what Motives, or what Management, we are thus become the *Dupes* and *Bubbles* of *Europe?* Sure it cannot be owing to the Stupidity ariſing from the Coldneſs of our Climate; ſince thoſe among our Allies, who have given us moſt Reaſon to complain, are as far removed from the Sun as ourſelves.

If in laying open the real Cauſes of our preſent Miſery, I am forced to ſpeak with ſome Freedom, I think it will require no Apology. Reputation is the ſmalleſt Sacrifice thoſe can make us, who have been the Inſtruments of our Ruin; becauſe it is that, for which, in all Probability, they have the leaſt Value. So that in expoſing the Actions of ſuch Perſons, it cannot be ſaid, properly ſpeaking, to do them an Injury. But as it will be ſome Satisfaction to our People, to know by whom they have been ſo long abuſed; ſo it may be of great Uſe to us, and our Poſterity, not to truſt the Safety of their Country in the Hands of thoſe, who act by ſuch Principles, and from ſuch Motives.

I have already obſerved, that, when the Counſels of this War were debated in the late King's Time, a certain *Great Man* was then ſo averſe from entering into it, that he rather choſe to give up his Employment, and tell the King he could ſerve him no longer. Upon that

that Prince's Death, although the Grounds of our Quarrel with *France* had received no manner of Addition, yet this Lord thought fit to alter his Sentiments; for the Scene was quite changed; his Lordſhip, and the Family with whom he was engaged by ſo complicated an Alliance, were in the higheſt Credit poſſible with the QUEEN. The Treaſurer's Staff was ready for his Lordſhip; the Duke was to command the Army, and the Ducheſs, by her Employments, and the Favour ſhe was poſſeſſed of, to be always neareſt Her Majeſty's Perſon; by which the whole Power, at home and abroad, would be devolved upon that Family. This was a Proſpect ſo very inviting, that, to confeſs the Truth, it could not be eaſily withſtood by any who have ſo keen an Appetite for Wealth or Power. By an Agreement ſubſequent to the Grand Alliance, we were to aſſiſt the *Dutch* with forty thouſand Men, all to be commanded by the Duke of *Marlborough*. So that whether this War was prudently begun, or not, it is plain, that the true Spring or Motive of it, was the aggrandizing a particular Family; and, in ſhort, a War of the *General* and the *Miniſtry*, and not of the *Prince* or *People*; ſince thoſe very Perſons were againſt it, when they knew the Power, and conſequently the Profit, would be in other Hands.

With theſe Meaſures fell in all that Set of People, who are called the *Monied Men*; ſuch as had raiſed vaſt Sums by trading with Stocks and

and Funds, and lending Money upon great Intereſt and Premiums; whoſe perpetual Harveſt is War, and whoſe beneficial way of Traffick muſt very muſt decline by a Peace.

In that whole Chain of Encroachments made upon us by the *Dutch*, which I have above deduced; and under thoſe ſeveral groſs Impoſitions from other Princes, if any one ſhould aſk, why our General continued ſo eaſy to the laſt? I know no other Way ſo probable, or indeed ſo charitable, to account for it, as by that unmeaſurable Love of Wealth, which his beſt Friends allow to be his predominant Paſſion. However, I ſhall wave any thing that is perſonal upon this Subject. I ſhall ſay nothing of thoſe great Preſents made by ſeveral Princes, which the Soldiers uſed to call *Winter-Foraging*, and ſaid it was better than that of the *Summer*; of two and half *per Cent.* ſubſtracted out of all the Subſidies we pay in thoſe Parts, which amounts to no inconſiderable Sum; and, laſtly, of the grand Perquiſites in a long ſucceſsful War, which are ſo amicably adjuſted between him and the *States*.

But when the War was thus begun, there ſoon fell in other Incidents here at home, which made the Continuance of it neceſſary for thoſe who were the chief Adviſers. The *Whigs* were, at that time, out of all Credit or Conſideration. The reigning Favourites had always carried what was called the *Tory Principles* at leaſt as high as our Conſtitution could bear;

bear; and moſt others, in great Employment, were wholly in the Church Intereſt. Theſe laſt, among whom ſeveral Perſons of the greateſt Merit, Quality, and Conſequence, were not able to endure the many Inſtances of Pride, Inſolence, Avarice, and Ambition, which thoſe Favourites began ſo early to diſcover, nor to ſee them preſuming to be ſole Diſpenſers of the Royal Favour. However, their Oppoſition was to no purpoſe; they wreſtled with too great a Power, and were ſoon cruſhed under it. For thoſe in Poſſeſſion, finding they could never be quiet in their Uſurpations, while others had any Credit, who were at leaſt upon an equal Foot of Merit, began to make Overtures to the diſcarded *Whigs*, who would be content with any Terms of Accommodation. Thus commenced this *ſolemn League and Covenant*, which hath ever ſince been cultivated with ſo much Application. The great Traders in Money were wholly devoted to the *Whigs*, who had firſt raiſed them. The Army, the Court, and the Treaſury, continued under the old *Deſpotick* Adminiſtration: The *Whigs* were received into Employment, left to manage the Parliament, cry down the Landed Intereſt, and worry the Church. Mean time our Allies, who were not ignorant that all this artificial Structure had no true Foundation in the Hearts of the People, reſolved to make the beſt Uſe of it, as long as it ſhould laſt. And the General's Credit being raiſed to a great Height at home by our Succeſs in *Flan-*

ders, the *Dutch* began their gradual Impoſitions; leſſening their *Quotas*, breaking their Stipulations, garriſoning the Towns we took for them, without ſupplying their Troops; with many other Infringements: All which we were forced to ſubmit to, becauſe the General was *made eaſy*; becauſe the Monied Men at home were fond of the War; becauſe the *Whigs* were not firmly ſettled; and becauſe that exorbitant Degree of Power, which was built upon a ſuppoſed Neceſſity of employing particular Perſons, would go off in a Peace. It is needleſs to add, that the Emperor, and other Princes, followed the Example of the *Dutch*, and ſucceeded as well, for the ſame Reaſons.

I have here imputed the Continuance of the War to the mutual Indulgence between our General and Allies, wherein they both ſo well found their Accounts; to the Fears of the *Money-changers*, leſt their *Tables ſhould be overthrown*; to the Deſigns of the *Whigs*, who apprehended the Loſs of their Credit and Employments in a Peace; and to thoſe at home, who held their immoderate Engroſſments of Power and Favour by no other Tenure, than their own Preſumption upon the Neceſſity of Affairs. The Truth of this will appear indiſputable, by conſidering with what Unanimity and Concert theſe ſeveral Parties acted towards that great End.

When the Vote paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, againſt any Peace, without *Spain* being reſtored to the *Auſtrian* Family; the Earl of *Wharton*

Wharton told the Houſe, that it was indeed impoſſible and impracticable to recover *Spain*; but, however, there were *certain Reaſons* why ſuch a Vote ſhould be made at that Time; which Reaſons wanted no Explanation; for the General and the Miniſtry having refuſed to accept very advantageous Offers of a Peace, after the Battle of *Ramilies*, were forced to take in a Set of Men, with a previous Bargain, to ſkreen them from the Conſequences of that Miſcarriage. And accordingly, upon the firſt ſucceeding Opportunity that fell, which was the Prince of *Denmark*'s Death, the chief Leaders of the Party were brought into ſeveral great Employments.

Thus, when the QUEEN was no longer able to bear the Tyranny and Inſolence of thoſe ungrateful Servants, who, as they *waxed the fatter*, did but *kick the more*; our two great Allies abroad, and our Stock-Jobbers at home, took immediate Alarm; applied the neareſt Way to the Throne, by Memorials and Meſſages, jointly directing Her Majeſty not to change her Secretary or Treaſurer; who, for the true Reaſons that theſe officious Intermeddlers demanded their Continuance, ought never to have been admitted into the leaſt Degree of Truſt; ſince what they did was nothing leſs than betraying the Intereſt of their native Country to thoſe Princes, who, in their Turns, were to do what they could to ſupport them in Power at home.

Thus it plainly appears, that there was a Conſpiracy on all Sides to go on with thoſe Meaſures, which muſt perpetuate the War; and a Conſpiracy founded upon the Intereſt and Ambition of each Party; which begat ſo firm an Union, that, inſtead of wondering why it laſted ſo long, I am aſtoniſhed to think how it came to be broken. The Prudence, Courage, and Firmneſs of Her Majeſty, in all the Steps of that great Change, would, if the Particulars were truly related, make a very ſhining Part in her Story; nor is her Judgment leſs to be admired, which directed her in the Choice of perhaps the only Perſons who had Skill, Credit, and Reſolution enough to be her Inſtruments in overthrowing ſo many Difficulties.

Some would pretend to leſſen the Merit of this, by telling us, that the Rudeneſs, the Tyranny, the Oppreſſion, the Ingratitude of the late Favourites towards their Miſtreſs, were no longer to be born. They produce Inſtances to ſhew, how Her Majeſty was purſued through all Her Retreats, particularly at *Windſor*; where, after the Enemy had poſſeſſed themſelves of every Inch of Ground, they at laſt attacked and ſtormed the Caſtle, forcing the QUEEN to fly to an adjoining Cottage, purſuant to the Advice of *Solomon*, who tells us, *It is better to live on the Houſe-top, than with a ſcolding Woman in a large Houſe.* They would have it, that ſuch continued ill Uſage was enough to inflame the meekeſt Spirit.

Spirit. They blame the Favourites in point of Policy, and think it nothing extraordinary, that the QUEEN ſhould be at an End of her Patience, and reſolve to diſcard them. But I am of another Opinion, and think their Proceedings were right. For nothing is ſo apt to break even the braveſt Spirits, as a continual Chain of Oppreſſions; one Injury is beſt defended by a ſecond, and this by a third. By theſe Steps the old *Maſters of the Palace* in *France* became *Maſters of the Kingdom*; and, by theſe Steps, a *General during Pleaſure* might have grown into a *General for Life*, and a *General for Life* into a *King*. So that I ſtill inſiſt upon it as a Wonder, how Her Majeſty, thus beſieged on all Sides, was able to extricate Herſelf.

Having thus mentioned the real Cauſes, although diſguiſed under ſpecious Pretences, which have ſo long continued the War, I muſt beg leave to reaſon a little with thoſe Perſons, who are againſt any Peace, but what they call a *good one*; and explain themſelves, that no Peace can be *good*, without an entire Reſignation of *Spain* to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. It is to be ſuppoſed, that what I am to ſay upon this Part of the Subject, will have little Influence on thoſe, whoſe particular Ends or Deſigns of any ſort, lead them to wiſh the Continuance of the War: I mean the General, and our Allies abroad, the Knot of late Favourites at home, the Body of ſuch as traffick in Stocks, and laſt-

ly, that Set of factious Politicians, who were ſo violently bent, at leaſt, upon *clipping* our Conſtitution in Church and State. Therefore I ſhall not apply myſelf to any of theſe, but to all others indifferently, whether *Whigs* or *Tories*, whoſe private Intereſt is beſt anſwered by the Welfare of their Country. And, if among theſe there be any, who think we ought to fight on till King *Charles* be quietly ſettled in the Monarchy of *Spain*, I believe there are ſeveral Points, which they have not thoroughly conſidered.

For, firſt, it is to be obſerved, that this Reſolution againſt any Peace without *Spain*, is a new Incident, grafted upon the original Quarrel, by the Intrigues of a Faction among us, who prevailed to give it the Sanction of a Vote in both Houſes of Parliament, to juſtify thoſe, whoſe Intereſt lay in perpetuating the War. And as this Proceeding was againſt the Practice of all Princes and States, whoſe Intentions were fair and honourable; ſo is it contrary to common Prudence, as well as Juſtice; I might add, that it was impious too, by preſuming to controul Events, which are only in the Hands of GOD. Ours and the *States* Complaint againſt *France* and *Spain*, are deduced in each of our Declarations of War, and our Pretenſions ſpecified in the *Eighth Article* of the Grand Alliance; but there is not in any of theſe the leaſt Mention of demanding *Spain* for the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*, or of refuſing any Peace without that Condition. Having already made

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an Extract from both Declarations of War, I ſhall here give a Tranſlation of the *Eighth Article* in the Grand Alliance, which will put this Matter out of Diſpute.

THE EIGHTH ARTICLE OF THE GRAND ALLIANCE.

WHEN the War is once undertaken, none of the Parties ſhall have the Liberty to enter upon a Treaty of Peace with the Enemy, but jointly, and in concert with the others. Nor is Peace to be made without having firſt obtained a juſt and reaſonable Satisfaction for his Cæſarean *Majeſty, and for his Royal Majeſty of* Great Britain, *and a particular Security to the Lords the* States-General, *of their Dominions, Provinces, Titles, Navigation, and Commerce: and a ſufficient Proviſion, that the Kingdoms of* France *and* Spain *be never united, or come under the Government of the ſame Perſon, or that the ſame Man may never be King of both Kingdoms; and particularly, that the* French *may never be in Poſſeſſion of the* Spaniſh Weſt-Indies; *and that they may not have the Liberty*

of

of Navigation, for Conveniency of Trade, under any Pretence whatsoever, neither directly nor indirectly; except it is agreed, that the Subjects of Great Britain *and* Holland *may have full Power to use and enjoy all the same Privileges, Rights, Immunities, and Liberties of Commerce, by Land and Sea, in* Spain, *in the* Mediterranean, *and in all the Places and Countries which the late King of* Spain, *at the Time of his Death, was in Possession of, as well in* Europe *as elsewhere, as they did then use and enjoy; or which the Subjects of both, or each Nation, could use and enjoy, by Virtue of any Right, obtained before the Death of the late King of* Spain, *either by Treaties, Conventions, Custom, or any other Way whatsoever.*

Here we see the Demands intended to be insisted on by the Allies upon any Treaty of Peace, are, a just and reasonable Satisfaction for the *Emperor* and King of *Great Britain*, a Security to the *States-General* for their Dominions, *&c.* and a sufficient Provision, that *France* and *Spain* be never united under the same Man, as King of both Kingdoms. The rest relates to the Liberty of Trade and Commerce for us and the *Dutch*; but not a Syllable of engaging to dispossess the Duke of *Anjou*.

But to know how this new Language, of *No Peace without Spain*, was first introduced, and at last prevailed among us, we must begin a great deal higher.

It

It was the Partition Treaty, which begot the Will in favour of the Duke of *Anjou*; for this naturally led the *Spaniards* to receive a Prince supported by a great Power, whose Interest, as well as Affection, engaged them to preserve the Monarchy entire, rather than to oppose him in favour of another Family, who must expect Assistance from a Number of Confederates, whose principal Members had already disposed of what did not belong to them, and, by a previous Treaty, parcelled out the Monarchy of *Spain*.

Thus the Duke of *Anjou* got into the full Possession of all the Kingdoms and States belonging to that Monarchy, as well in the old World as the new. And, whatever the House of *Austria* pretended from their Memorials to us and the *States*, it was at that time but too apparent, that the Inclinations of the *Spaniards* were on the Duke's Side.

However, a War was resolved; and, in order to carry it on with great Vigour, a Grand Alliance formed, wherein the Ends proposed to be obtained, are plainly and distinctly laid down as I have already quoted them. It pleased GOD, in the Course of this War, to bless the Arms of the Allies with remarkable Successes; by which we were soon put into a Condition of demanding and expecting such Terms of Peace as we proposed to ourselves when we began the War. But instead of this, our Victories only served to lead us on to further visionary Prospects; Advantage was taken of the sanguine Temper,

Temper, which ſo many Succeſſes had wrought the Nation up to; new Romantick Views were propoſed, and the old, reaſonable, ſober Deſign was forgot.

This was the Artifice of thoſe here, who were ſure to grow richer, as the Publick became poorer; and who, after the Reſolutions which the two Houſes were prevailed upon to make, might have carried on the War with Safety to themſelves till Malt and Land were mortgaged, till a general Exciſe was eſtabliſhed, and the *dixieme denier* raiſed by *Collectors in red Coats*. And this was juſt the Circumſtance which it ſuited their Intereſts to be in.

The Houſe of *Auſtria* approved this Scheme with Reaſon; ſince whatever would be obtained by the Blood and Treaſure of others, was to accrue to that Family; while they only lent their Name to the Cauſe.

The *Dutch* might, perhaps, have grown reſty under their Burthen; but Care was likewiſe taken of that by a *Barrier-Treaty* made with the *States*, which deſerveth ſuch Epithets as I care not to beſtow; but may perhaps conſider it, at a proper Occaſion, in a *Diſcourſe* by itſelf.

By this Treaty the Condition of the War, with reſpect to the *Dutch*, was wiſely altered: they fought no longer for Security, but for Grandeur; and we, inſtead of labouring to make them *ſafe*, muſt beggar ourſelves to make them *formidable*.

Will

Will any one contend, that if, at the Treaty of *Gertruydenburg*, we could have been ſatisfied with ſuch Terms of a Peace, as we propoſed to ourſelves by the Grand Alliance, the *French* would not have allowed them? It is plain they offered many more, and much greater, than ever we thought to inſiſt on when the War began; and they had Reaſon to grant, as well as we to demand them; ſince Conditions of Peace do certainly turn upon Events of War. But ſurely there is ſome Meaſure to be obſerved in this; thoſe who have defended the Proceedings of our Negotiators at the Treaty of *Gertruydenburg* dwell very much upon their Zeal and Patience, in endeavouring to work the *French* up to their Demands; but ſay nothing to juſtify thoſe Demands, or the Probability that *France* would ever accept them. Some of the Articles in that Treaty were ſo very extravagant, that, in all human Probability, we could not have obtained them by a ſucceſsful War of forty Years. One of them was inconſiſtent with common Reaſon; wherein the Confederates reſerved to themſelves full Liberty of demanding what further Conditions they ſhould think fit; and in the mean time, *France* was to deliver up ſeveral of their ſtrongeſt Towns in a Month. Theſe Articles were very gravely ſigned by our Plenipotentiaries, and thoſe of *Holland*; but not by the *French*, although it ought to have been done interchangeably; nay, they were brought over by the Secretary of the Embaſſy; and the Miniſters here prevailed on the

the QUEEN to execute a Ratification of Articles, which only one Part had ſigned. This was an Abſurdity in Form, as well as in Reaſon; becauſe the uſual Form of a Ratification is with a Preamble, ſhewing; *That whereas our Miniſters, and thoſe of the Allies, and of the Enemy, have ſigned, &c. We ratify, &c.* * The Perſon, who brought over the Articles, ſaid in all Companies (and perhaps believed) that it was a Pity we had not demanded more; for the *French* were in a Diſpoſition to refuſe us nothing we would ask. One of our Plenipotentiaries affected to have the ſame Concern; and particularly that we had not obtained ſome further Security for the Empire on the *Upper Rhine.*

What could be the Deſign of all this Grimace, but to amuſe the People, and to raiſe Stocks, for their Friends in the Secret to ſell to Advantage? I have too great a Reſpect for the Abilities of thoſe who acted in this Negotiation, to believe they hoped for any other Iſſue from it, than that we found by the Event. Give me leave to ſuppoſe the Continuance of the War was the Thing at Heart among thoſe in Power, both abroad and at home; and then I can eaſily ſhew the Conſiſtency of their Proceedings; otherwiſe they are wholly unaccountable and abſurd. Did thoſe, who inſiſted on ſuch wild Demands, ever ſincerely intend

* Horatio Walpole, *Secretary to that Embaſſy.*

tend a Peace? Did they really think, that going on with the War was more eligible for their Country, than the leaſt Abatement of thoſe Conditions? Was the ſmalleſt of them worth ſix Millions a Year, and an hundred thouſand Mens Lives? Was there no Way to provide for the Safety of *Britain*, or the Security of its Trade, but by the *French* King's turning his Arms to beat his own Grandſon out of *Spain?* If theſe able Stateſmen were ſo truly concerned for our Trade, which they made the Pretence of the War's Beginning, as well as Continuance; why did they ſo neglect it in thoſe very Preliminaries, where the Enemy made ſo many Conceſſions, and where all that related to the Advantage of *Holland*, or the other Confederates, was expreſsly ſettled? But whatever concerned us was to be left to a General Treaty; no *Tariff* agreed on with *France* or the *Low Countries*, only the *Scheldt* was to remain ſhut, which muſt have ruined our Commerce with *Antwerp*. Our Trade with *Spain* was referred the ſame Way; but this they will pretend to be of no Conſequence becauſe that Kingdom was to be under the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and we have already made a Treaty with King *Charles*. I have, indeed, heard of a Treaty made by Mr. *Stanhope* with that Prince, for ſettling our Commerce with *Spain*: But whatever it were, there was another between us and *Holland*, which went Hand in Hand with it, I mean that of *Barrier*; wherein a Clauſe was inſerted, by which all

Advantages propoſed for *Britain*, are to be in common with *Holland*.

Another Point which I doubt thoſe have not conſidered, who are againſt any Peace without *Spain*, is, that the Face of Affairs in *Chriſtendom*, ſince the *Emperor*'s Death, hath been very much changed. By this Accident the Views and Intereſts of ſeveral Princes and States in the Alliance, have taken a new Turn; and, I believe, it will be found, that ours ought to do ſo too. We have ſufficiently blundered once already, by changing our Meaſures, with regard to a Peace, while our Affairs continued in the ſame Poſture; and it will be too much in Conſcience to blunder again by *not* changing the firſt, when the others are ſo much altered.

To have a Prince of the *Auſtrian* Family on the Throne of *Spain*, is undoubtedly more deſirable than one of the Houſe of *Bourbon*; but to have the *Empire* and *Spaniſh* Monarchy united in the ſame Perſon, is a dreadful Conſideration, and directly oppoſite to that wiſe Principle, on which the eighth Article of the Alliance is founded.

To this perhaps it will be objected, that the indolent Character of the *Auſtrian* Princes, the wretched Oeconomy of that Government, the Want of a Naval Force, the remote Diſtance of their ſeveral Territories from each other, would never ſuffer an *Emperor*, although at the ſame Time King of *Spain*, to become formidable:

dable: On the contrary, that his Dependance muſt continually be on *Great Britain*, and the Advantages of Trade, by a Peace founded upon that Condition, would ſoon make us amends for all the Expences of the War.

In Anſwer to this, let us conſider the Circumſtances we muſt be in, before ſuch a Peace could be obtained, if it were at all practicable. We muſt become, not only poor for the preſent, but reduced, by further Mortages, to a State of Beggary for endleſs Years to come. Compare ſuch a weak Condition as this with ſo great an Acceſſion of Strength to *Auſtria*; and then determine how much an *Emperor*, in ſuch a State of Affairs, would either fear or need *Britain*.

Conſider, that the Compariſon is not formed between a Prince of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, Emperor and King of *Spain*, and a Prince of the *Bourbon* Family, King of *France* and *Spain*; but between a Prince of the latter, only King of *Spain*, and one of the former uniting both Crowns in his own Perſon.

What Returns of Gratitude can we expect, when we are no longer wanted? Hath all that we have hitherto done for the Imperial Family been taken as a Favour, or only received as the Due of the *Auguſtiſſima Caſa?*

Will the Houſe of *Auſtria* yield the leaſt Acre of Land, the leaſt Article of ſtrained, and even uſurped Prerogative, to reſettle the Minds of thoſe Princes in the Alliance, who are alarmed at the Conſequences of this Turn

of Affairs, occaſioned by the *Emperor*'s Death? We are aſſured it never will. Do we then imagine, that thoſe Princes, who dread the overgrown Power of the *Auſtrian*, as much as that of the *Bourbon* Family, will continue in our Alliance, upon a Syſtem contrary to that which they engaged with us upon? For Inſtance: What can the Duke of *Savoy* expect in ſuch a Caſe? Will he have any Choice left him, but that of being a Slave and a Frontier to *France*; or a *Vaſſal*, in the utmoſt Extent of the Word, to the Imperial Court? Will he not therefore of the two Evils chuſe the leaſt; by ſubmitting to a Maſter, who hath no immediate Claim upon him, and to whoſe Family he is nearly allied; rather than to another, who hath already revived ſeveral Claims upon him, and threatens to revive more?

Nor are the *Dutch* more inclined than the reſt of *Europe*, that the *Empire* and *Spain* ſhould be united in King *Charles*, whatever they may now pretend. *On the contrary, it is known to ſeveral Perſons, that upon the Death of the late Emperor* Joſeph, *the* States *reſolved, that thoſe two Powers ſhould not be joined in the ſame Perſon*; and this they determined as a fundamental Maxim, by which they intended to proceed. So that *Spain* was firſt given up by *them*; and ſince they maintain no Troops in that Kingdom, it ſhould ſeem, that they underſtand the Duke of *Anjou* to be lawful Monarch.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Thoſe who are againſt any Peace without *Spain*, if they be ſuch as no way find their private Account by the War, may perhaps change their Sentiments, if they will reflect a little upon our preſent Condition.

I had two Reaſons for not ſooner publiſhing this Diſcourſe: The firſt was, becauſe I would give Way to others, who might argue very well upon the ſame Subject, from general Topicks and Reaſon, although they might be ignorant of ſeveral Facts, which I had the Opportunity to know. The ſecond was, becauſe I found it would be neceſſary, in the Courſe of this Argument, to ſay ſomething of the State to which the War has reduced us; at the ſame Time I knew, that ſuch a Diſcovery ought to be made as late as poſſible, and, at another Juncture, would not only be very indiſcreet, but might perhaps be dangerous.

It is the Folly of too many, to miſtake the Echo of a *London* Coffee-Houſe for the Voice of the Kingdom. The City Coffee-Houſes have been for ſome Years filled with People, whoſe Fortunes depend upon the *Bank*, *Eaſt India*, or ſome other Stock. Every new Fund to theſe, is like a new Mortgage to an Uſurer, whoſe Compaſſion for a young Heir is exactly the ſame with that of a Stock-jobber to the Landed Gentry. At the Court End of the Town, the like Places of Reſort are frequented either by Men out of Place, and conſequently Enemies to the preſent Miniſtry, or by Officers of the Army: No wonder then if the general

Cry, in all such Meetings, be against any Peace either *with* Spain, or *without*; which, in other Words, is no more than this; that discontented Men desire another Change of the Ministry; that Soldiers would be glad to keep their Commissions; and that the Creditors have Money still, and would have the Debtors borrow on at the old extorting Rate, while they have any Security to give.

Now to give the most ignorant Reader some Idea of our present Circumstances, without troubling him or myself with Computations in Form: Every body knows that our Land and Malt Tax amount annually to about two Millions and a half. All other Branches of the Revenue are mortgaged to pay Interest for what we have already borrowed. The yearly Charge of the War is usually about six Millions; to make up which Sum, we are forced to take up, on the Credit of new Funds, about three Millions and a half. This last Year the computed Charge of the War came to above a Million more than all the Funds the Parliament could contrive were sufficient to pay Interest; and so we have been forced to divide a Deficiency of twelve hundred thousand Pounds among the several Branches of our Expence. This is a Demonstration, that if the War be to last another Campaign, it will be impossible to find Funds for supplying it, without mortgaging the Malt Tax, or by some other Method equally desperate.

If

If the Peace be made this Winter, we are then to consider, what Circumstances we shall be in towards paying a Debt of about fifty Millions, which is a sixth Part of the whole Island, if it were to be sold.

Towards clearing ourselves of this monstrous Incumbrance, some of these Annuities will expire, or pay off the Principal in thirty, forty, or an hundred Years; the Bulk of the Debt must be lessened gradually by the best Management we can, out of what will remain of the Land and Malt Taxes, after paying Guards and Garrisons, and maintaining and supplying our Fleet in the Time of Peace. I have not Skill enough to compute what will be left, after these necessary Charges, towards annually clearing so vast a Debt; but believe it must be very little: However, it is plain that both these Taxes must be continued, as well for supporting the Government, as because we have no other Means for paying off the Principal. And so likewise must all these other Funds remain for paying the Interest. How long a Time this must require, how steddy an Administration, and how undisturbed a State of Affairs, both at Home and Abroad, let others determine.

However, some People think all this very reasonable; and that since the Struggle hath been for Peace and Safety, Posterity, which is to partake the Benefit, ought to share in the Expence: As if, at the breaking out of the War, there had been such a Conjuncture of Affairs as never happened before, nor would ever happen again. It is wonderful, that our

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Anceſtors, in all their Wars, ſhould never fall under ſuch a Neceſſity; that we meet no Examples of it in *Greece* and *Rome*; that no other Nation in *Europe* ever knew any thing like it, except *Spain* about an hundred and twenty Years ago, which they drew upon themſelves by their own Folly, and have ſuffered for it ever ſince; no doubt we ſhall teach Poſterity Wiſdom, but they will be apt to think the Purchaſe too dear, and I wiſh they may ſtand to the Bargain we have made in their Names.

It is eaſy to entail Debts on ſucceeding Ages, and to hope they will be able and willing to pay them; but how to enſure Peace for any Term of Years, is difficult enough to apprehend. Will human Nature ever ceaſe to have the ſame Paſſions, Princes to entertain Deſigns of Intereſt or Ambition, and Occaſions of Quarrels to ariſe? May not we ourſelves, by the Variety of Events and Incidents which happen in the World, be under a Neceſſity of recovering Towns out of the very Hands of thoſe, for whom we are now ruining our Country to take them? Neither can it be ſaid, that thoſe *States*, with whom we may probably differ, will be in as bad a Condition as ourſelves; for, by the Circumſtances of our Situation, and, the Impoſitions of our Allies, we are more exhauſted than either they, or the Enemy; and, by the Nature of our Government, the Corruption of our Manners, and the Oppoſition of Factions, we ſhall be more ſlow in recovering.

It will, no doubt, be a mighty Comfort to our Grand-children, when they ſee a few Rags

hung

hung up in *Westminster-Hall*, which cost an hundred Millions, whereof they are paying the Arrears, and boasting as Beggars do, that their Grandfathers were rich and great.

I have often reflected on that mistaken Notion of Credit, so boasted of by the Advocates of the late Ministry: Was not all that Credit built upon Funds raised by the Landed Men, whom they now so much hate and despise? Is not the greatest Part of those Funds raised from the Growth and Product of Land? Must not the whole Debt be entirely paid, and our Fleets and Garrisons be maintained, by the Land and Malt-Tax after a Peace? If they call it Credit to run ten Millions in Debt without Parliamentary Security, by which the Publick is defrauded of almost half; I must think such Credit to be dangerous, illegal, and perhaps treasonable. Neither hath any thing gone further to ruin the Nation than their boasted Credit. For my own Part, when I saw this false Credit sink upon the Change of the Ministry, I was singular enough to conceive it a good Omen. It seemed as if the young extravagant Heir had got a new Steward, and was resolved to look into his Estate before things grew desperate, which made the Usurers forbear feeding him with Money, as they were wont to do.

Since the Monied Men are so fond of War, I should be glad they would furnish out one Campaign at their own Charge: It is not above six or seven Millions; and I dare engage to make

make it out, that when they have done this, instead of contributing equal to the Landed Men, they will have their full Principal and Interest at six *per Cent.* remaining of all the Money they ever lent to the Government.

Without this Resource, or some other equally miraculous, it is impossible for us to continue the War upon the same Foot. I have already observed, that the last Funds of Interest fell short above a Million, although the Persons most conversant in Ways and Means employed their utmost Inventions; so that of Necessity we must still be more defective next Campaign. But perhaps our Allies will make up this Deficiency on our Side by greater Efforts on their own. Quite the contrary; both the *Emperor* and *Holland* failed this Year in several Articles; and signified to us some time ago, that they cannot keep up to the same Proportions in the next. We have gained a noble Barrier for the latter, and they have nothing more to demand or desire. The *Emperor*, however sanguine he may now affect to appear, will, I suppose, be satisfied with *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Milan*, and his other Acquisitions, rather than engage in a long, hopeless War, for the Recovery of *Spain*, to which his Allies the *Dutch* will neither give their Assistance, nor Consent. So that since we have done their Business, since they have no further Service for our Arms, and we have no more Money to give them; and, lastly, since we neither desire any Recompence, nor expect any Thanks, we ought, in pity, to be dismissed,

miſſed, and have leave to ſhift for ourſelves. They are ripe for a Peace, to enjoy and cultivate what we have conquered for them; and ſo are we, to recover, if poſſible, the Effects of their Hardſhips upon us. The firſt Overtures from *France* are made to *England* upon ſafe and honourable Terms; we, who bore the Burthen of the War, ought in Reaſon to have the greateſt Share in making the Peace. If we do not hearken to a Peace, others certainly will, and get the Advantage of us there, as they have done in the War. We know the *Dutch* have perpetually threatened us, that they would enter into ſeparate Meaſures of a Peace; and, by the Strength of that Argument, as well as by *other powerful Motives*, prevailed on thoſe who were then at the Helm, to comply with them on any Terms, rather than put an End to a War, which every Year brought them ſuch great Acceſſions to their Wealth and Power. Whoever falls off, a Peace will follow; and then we muſt be content with ſuch Conditions as our Allies, out of their great Concern for our Safety and Intereſt, will pleaſe to chuſe. They have no further Occaſion for fighting, they have gained their Point, and they now tell us, it is *our War*; ſo that, in common Juſtice, it ought to be *our Peace*.

All we can propoſe, by the deſperate Steps of pawning our Land or Malt Tax, or erecting a General Exciſe, is only to raiſe a Fund of Intereſt, for running us annually four Millions further in Debt, without any Proſpect of end-

ending the War ſo well as we can do at preſent. And when we have ſunk the only unengaged Revenues we had left, our Incumbrances muſt of Neceſſity remain perpetual.

We have hitherto lived upon Expedients, which, in Time, will certainly deſtroy any Conſtitution, whether Civil or Natural; and there was no Country in *Chriſtendom* had leſs Occaſion for them than ours. We have dieted a healthy Body into a Conſumption, by plying it with Phyſick inſtead of Food. Art will help us no longer, and if we cannot recover by letting the Remains of Nature work, we muſt inevitably die.

What Arts have been uſed to poſſeſs the People with a ſtrong Deluſion that *Britain* muſt infallibly be ruined, without the Recovery of *Spain* to the Houſe of *Auſtria?* Making the Safety of a great and powerful Kingdom, as ours was then, to depend upon an Event, which, even after a War of miraculous Succeſſes, proves impracticable. As if Princes and great Miniſters could find no Way of ſettling the publick Tranquillity, without changing the Poſſeſſion of Kingdoms, and forcing Sovereigns upon a People againſt their Inclinations. Is there no Security for the Iſland of *Britain*, unleſs a King of *Spain* be dethroned by the Hands of his Grandfather? Has the Enemy no cautionary Towns and Sea-ports to give us for ſecuring Trade? Can he not deliver us Poſſeſſion of ſuch Places as would

would put him in a worſe Condition, whenever he ſhould perfidiouſly renew the War? The preſent King of *France* has but few Years to live by the Courſe of Nature, and, doubtleſs, would deſire to end his Days in Peace. Grandfathers, in private Families, are not obſerved to have great Influence on their Grandſons; and I believe they have much leſs among Princes. However, when the Authority of a Parent is gone, is it likely that *Philip* will be directed by a Brother, againſt his own Intereſt, and that of his Subjects? Have not thoſe two Realms their ſeparate Maxims of Policy, which muſt operate in Times of Peace? Theſe at leaſt are Probabilities, and cheaper by ſix Millions a Year than recovering *Spain*, or continuing the War, both which ſeem abſolutely impoſſible.

But the common Queſtion is, If we muſt now ſurrender *Spain*, what have we been fighting for all this while? The Anſwer is ready: We have been fighting for the Ruin of the publick Intereſt, and the Advancement of a private. We have been fighting to raiſe the Wealth and Grandeur of a particular Family; to enrich Uſurers and Stock-jobbers, and to cultivate the pernicious Deſigns of a Faction, by deſtroying the Landed Intereſt. The Nation begins now to think theſe *Bleſſings* are not worth fighting for any longer, and therefore deſires a Peace.

But the Advocates on the other Side cry out, that we might have had a better Peace, than is now in Agitation, above two Years ago. Supposing this to be true, I do assert, that, by Parity of Reason, we must expect one just so much the worse about two Years hence. If those in Power could then have given us a better Peace, more is their Infamy and Guilt, that they did it not. Why did they insist upon Conditions, which they were certain would never be granted? We allow it was in their Power to have put a good End to the War, and left the Nation in some Hope of recovering itself. And this is what we charge them with as answerable to God, their Country, and Posterity, that the bleeding Condition of their Fellow-Subjects was a Feather in the Balance with their private Ends.

When we offer to lament the heavy Debts and Poverty of the Nation, it is pleasant to hear some Men answer all that can be said, by crying up the Power of *England*, the Courage of *England*, the inexhaustible Riches of *England*. I have heard a * Man very sanguine upon this Subject, with a good Employment for Life, and an hundred thousand Pounds in Funds, bidding us *take Courage*; and *warranting, that all would go well.* This is the Style of Men at Ease, *who lay heavy Burthens upon others, which they will not touch with one of their Fingers.* I have known some People such

* The late Lord *Halifax.*

ſuch ill Computers, as to imagine the many Millions in Stocks and Annuities, are ſo much real Wealth in the Nation; whereas every Farthing of it is entirely loſt to us, ſcattered in *Holland*, *Germany*, and *Spain*; and the Landed Men, who now pay the Intereſt, muſt at laſt pay the Principal.

Fourthly, Thoſe who are againſt any Peace without *Spain*, have, I doubt, been ill informed as to the low Condition of *France*, and the mighty Conſequences of our Succeſſes. As to the firſt, it muſt be confeſſed, that, after the Battle of *Ramillies*, the *French* were ſo diſcouraged with their frequent Loſſes, and ſo impatient for a Peace, that their King was reſolved to comply upon any reaſonable Terms. But when his Subjects were informed of our exorbitant Demands, they grew jealous of his Honour, and were unanimous to aſſiſt him in continuing the War at any Hazard, rather than ſubmit. This fully reſtored his Authority; and the Supplies he hath received from the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, which, in all, are computed ſince the War, to amount to four hundred Millions of Livres, and all in *Specie*, have enabled him to pay his Troops. Beſides, the Money is ſpent in his own Country; and he hath ſince waged the War in the moſt thrifty Manner, by acting on the Defenſive; compounding with us every Campaign for a Town, which coſts us fifty Times more than its Worth, either as to the Value, or the Conſequences. Then he is at no Charge for a

Fleet, further than providing Privateers, wherewith his Subjects carry on a pyratical War at their own Expence, and he ſhares in the Profit; which hath been very conſiderable to *France*, and of infinite Diſadvantage to us, not only by the perpetual Loſſes we have ſuffered, to an immenſe Value, but by the general Diſcouragement of Trade, on which we ſo much depend. All this conſidered, with the Circumſtances of that Government, where the Prince is Maſter of the Lives and Fortunes of ſo mighty a Kingdom, ſhews that Monarch not to be ſo ſunk in his Affairs as we have imagined, and have long flattered ourſelves with the Hopes of.

Thoſe who are againſt *any Peace without Spain*, ſeem likewiſe to have been miſtaken in judging our Victories, and other Succeſſes, to have been of greater Conſequence than they really were.

When our Armies take a Town in *Flanders*, the *Dutch* are immediately put into *Poſſeſſion*, and we at Home make *Bonfires*. I have ſometimes pitied the deluded People, to ſee them ſquandering away their Fewel to ſo little purpoſe. For Example: What is it to us that *Bouchain* is taken, about which the warlike Politicians of the Coffee-Houſes make ſuch a Clutter? What, though the Garriſon ſurrendered Priſoners of War, and in Sight of the Enemy? We are not now in a Condition to be fed with Points of Honour. What Advantage have we, but that of ſpending three or four

four Millions more to get another Town for the *States*, which may open them a new Country for *Contributions*, and increaſe the Perquiſites of the General?

In that War of ten Years under the late King, when our Commanders and Soldiers were raw and unexperienced, in Compariſon of what they are at preſent, we loſt Battles and Towns, as well as we gained them of late, ſince thoſe Gentlemen have better learned their Trade; yet we bore up then, as the *French* do now; nor was there any thing deciſive in their Succeſſes; they grew weary as well as we, and at laſt conſented to a Peace, under which we might have been happy enough, if it had not been followed by that wiſe *Treaty of Partition*, which revived the Flame that hath laſted ever ſince. I ſee nothing elſe in the modern Way of making War, but that the Side which can hold out longeſt, will end it with moſt Advantage. In ſuch a cloſe Country as *Flanders*, where it is carried on by Sieges, the Army that acts offenſively, is at a much greater Expence of Men and Money; and there is hardly a Town taken, in the common Forms, where the Beſiegers have not the worſe of the Bargain. I never yet knew a Soldier, who would not affirm, that any Town might be taken, if you were content to be at the Charge. If you will count upon ſacrificing ſo much Blood and Treaſure, the reſt is all a regular eſtabliſhed Method, which cannot fail. When the King of *France*, in the Times of his

Grandeur, ſat down before a Town, his Generals and Engineers would often fix the Day when it ſhould ſurrender. The Enemy, ſenſible of all this, hath, for ſome Years paſt, avoided a Battle, where he hath ſo ill ſucceeded, and taken a ſurer Way to conſume us, by letting our Courage evaporate againſt Stones and Rubbiſh, and ſacrificing a ſingle Town to a Campaign, which he can ſo much better afford to loſe, than we to take.

Laſtly, Thoſe who are ſo violently againſt *any Peace*, without *Spain* being reſtored to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, have not, I believe, caſt their Eye upon a Cloud gathering in the North, which we have helped to raiſe, and may quickly break in a Storm upon our Heads.

The Northern War hath been on Foot almoſt ever ſince our Breach with *France*. The Succeſs of it is various; but one Effect to be apprehended was always the ſame, that, ſooner or later, it would involve us in its Conſequences; and that, whenever this happened, let our Succeſs be never ſo great againſt *France*, from that Moment *France* would have the Advantage.

By our Guarantee of the Treaty of *Travendall*, we were obliged to hinder the King of *Denmark* from engaging in a War with *Sweden*. It was at that Time underſtood by all Parties, and ſo declared, even by the *Britiſh* Miniſters, that this Engagement ſpecially regarded *Denmark*'s

mark's not aſſiſting King *Auguſtus*. But, however, if this had not been ſo, yet our Obligation to *Sweden* ſtood in Force, by Virtue of former Treaties with that Crown, which were all revived and confirmed by a ſubſequent one, concluded at the *Hague* by Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* and Monſieur *Lilienroot*, about the latter End of the King's Reign.

However, the War in the North proceeded; and our not aſſiſting *Sweden* was at leaſt as well excuſed by the War which we were entangled in, as his not contributing his Contingent to the Empire, whereof he is a Member, was excuſed by the Preſſures he lay under, having a Confederacy to deal with.

In this War the King of *Sweden* was victorious; and what Dangers were we not then expoſed to? What Fears were we not in? He marched into *Saxony*, and, if he had really been in the *French* Intereſt, might at once have put us under the greateſt Difficulties. But the Torrent turned another Way, and he contented himſelf with impoſing on his Enemy the Treaty of *Alt Raſtadt*; by which King *Auguſtus* makes an abſolute Ceſſion of the Crown of *Poland*, renounces any Title to it, acknowledges *Staniſlaus*; and then both he and the King of *Sweden* join in deſiring the Guarantee of *England* and *Holland*. The QUEEN did not, indeed, give this Guarantee in Form; but, as a Step towards it, the Title of *King* was given to *Staniſlaus* by a Letter from Her Majeſty; and the ſtrongeſt

eſt Aſſurances were given to the *Swediſh* Miniſter, in Her Majeſty's Name, and in a Committee of Council, that the Guarantee ſhould ſpeedily be granted; and that in the mean while it was the ſame Thing, as if the Forms were paſſed.

In 1708 King *Auguſtus* made the Campaign in *Flanders*; what Meaſures he might at that Time take, or of what Nature the Arguments might be that he made uſe of, is not known; but immediately after, he breaks through all he had done, marches into *Poland*, and reaſſumes the Crown.

After this we apprehended, that the Peace of the Empire might be endangered; and therefore entered into an Act of Guarantee for the Neutrality of it. The King of *Sweden* refuſed, upon ſeveral Accounts, to ſubmit to the Terms of this Treaty; particularly becauſe we went out of the Empire to cover *Poland* and *Jutland*; but did not go out of it to cover the Territories of *Sweden*.

Let us therefore conſider what is our Caſe at preſent. If the King of *Sweden* return, and get the better, he will think himſelf under no Obligation of having any Regard to the Intereſts of the Allies; but will naturally *Purſue*, according to his own Expreſſion, *his Enemy wherever he finds him*. In this Caſe the *Corps* of the Neutrality is obliged to oppoſe him; and ſo we are engaged in a ſecond War before the firſt be ended.

If

If the Northern Confederates ſucceed againſt *Sweden*, how ſhall we be able to preſerve the Balance of Power in the North, ſo eſſential to our Trade, as well as in many other Reſpects? What will become of that great Support of the *Proteſtant Intereſt* in *Germany*, which is the Footing that the *Swedes* now have in the Empire? Or who ſhall anſwer, that theſe Princes, after they have ſettled the North to their Minds, may not take a Fancy to look Southward, and make our Peace with *France* according to their own Schemes?

And, laſtly, if the King of *Pruſſia*, the Elector of *Hanover*, and other Princes, whoſe Dominions lie contiguous, be forced to draw from thoſe Armies, which act againſt *France*, we muſt live in hourly Expectation of having thoſe Troops recalled, which they now leave with us; and this Recal may happen in the midſt of a Siege, or on the Eve of a Battle. Is it therefore our Intereſt to toil on in a ruinous War, for an impracticable End, till one of theſe Caſes ſhall happen, or to get under Shelter before the Storm?

There is no doubt, but the preſent Miniſtry (provided they could get over the Obligations of Honour and Conſcience) might find their Advantage in adviſing the Continuance of the War, as well as the laſt did, although not in the ſame Degree after the Kingdom hath been ſo much exhauſted. They might prolong it till the Parliament deſire a Peace; and, in the mean

mean time, leave them in full Poſſeſſion of Power. Therefore it is plain, that their Proceedings, at preſent, are meant to ſerve their Country, directly againſt their private Intereſt; whatever Clamour may be raiſed by thoſe, who, for the vileſt Ends, would remove Heaven and Earth to oppoſe their Meaſures. But they think it infinitely better to accept ſuch Terms as will ſecure our Trade, find a ſufficient Barrier for the *States*, give *reaſonable Satisfaction* to the Emperor, and reſtore the Tranquillity of *Europe*, although without adding *Spain* to the Empire; rather than go on in a languiſhing Way, upon the vain Expectation of ſome improbable Turn, for the Recovery of that Monarchy out of the *Bourbon* Family and at laſt be forced to a worſe Peace, by ſome of the Allies falling off, upon our utter Inability to continue the War.

SOME

SOME

REMARKS

ON THE

BARRIER-TREATY

BETWEEN

HER MAJESTY

AND THE

STATES-GENERAL.

To which are added,

The ſaid BARRIER-TREATY, with the two ſeparate ARTICLES; Part of the Counter-Project; the Sentiments of Prince EUGENE and Count SINZENDORF upon the ſaid Treaty; And a Repreſentation of the *Engliſh* Merchants at *Bruges*.

Written in the Year 1712.

PREFACE.

WHEN I publiſhed the Diſcourſe, called The Conduct of the Allies, *I had Thoughts either of inſerting or annexing the* Barrier-Treaty *at length, with ſuch Obſervations as I conceived might be uſeful for publick Information: But that Diſcourſe taking up more Room than I deſigned, after my utmoſt Endeavours to abbreviate it, I contented myſelf only with making ſome few Reflections upon that* famous Treaty, *ſufficient, as I thought, to anſwer the Deſign of my Book. I have ſince heard, that my Readers in general ſeem'd to wiſh I had been more particular, and have diſcovered an Impatience to have that Treaty made publick, eſpecially ſince it hath been laid before the* Houſe of Commons.

That I may give ſome Light to the Reader, who is not well verſed in theſe Affairs, he may pleaſe to know, that a Project for a Treaty of Barrier *with the* States *was tranſmitted*

hither from Holland: *but being diſapproved of by our Court in ſeveral Parts, a new Project, or Scheme of a Treaty, was drawn up here, with many Additions and Alterations. This laſt was called the* Counter-Project; *and was the Meaſure whereby the Duke of* Marlborough *and my Lord* Townſhend *were commanded and inſtructed to proceed, in negotiating a* Treaty of Barrier *with the* States.

I have added a Tranſlation of this Counter-Project, *in thoſe Articles where it differs from the* Barrier Treaty, *that the Reader, by comparing them together, may judge how punctually thoſe Negotiators obſerved their Inſtructions. I have likewiſe ſubjoined the Sentiments of Prince* Eugene *of* Savoy, *and the Count* De Sinzendorf, *relating to this Treaty, written (I ſuppoſe) while it was negotiating. And, laſtly, I have added a Copy of the Repreſentation of the* Britiſh *Merchants at* Bruges, *ſignifying what Inconveniencies they already felt, and further apprehended from this* Barrier-Treaty.

SOME

SOME REMARKS ON THE Barrier Treaty, &c.

IMAGINE a reaſonable Perſon in *China* were reading the following Treaty, and one who was ignorant of our Affairs, or our Geography; he would conceive their High Mightineſſes the *States-General* to be ſome vaſt, powerful Commonwealth, like that of *Rome*; and HER MAJESTY to be a petty Princeſs, like one of thoſe to whom that Republick would ſometimes ſend a Diadem for a Preſent, when they behaved themſelves well; otherwiſe could depoſe at Pleaſure, and place whom they thought fit in his Stead. Such a Man would think, that the *States* had taken our Prince and us into their *Protection*; and, in Return, honoured us ſo far as to make uſe of our Troops as ſome ſmall Aſſiſtance in their

Conqueſts, and the Enlargement of their Empire; or to prevent the Incurſions of *Barbarians* upon ſome of their out-lying Provinces. But how muſt it ſound in an *European* Ear, that *Great Britain*, after maintaining a War for ſo many Years, with ſo much Glory and Succeſs, and ſuch prodigious Expence; after ſaving the *Empire*, *Holland*, and *Portugal*, and almoſt recovering *Spain*, ſhould, towards the Cloſe of a War, enter into a Treaty with Seven *Dutch* Provinces, to ſecure to them a Dominion larger than their own, which ſhe had conquered for them; to undertake for a great deal more, without ſtipulating the leaſt Advantage for herſelf; and accept, as an Equivalent, the mean Condition of thoſe *States* aſſiſting to preſerve her QUEEN on the Throne, whom, by GOD's Aſſiſtance, ſhe is able to defend againſt all her Majeſty's *Enemies* and *Allies* put together?

Such a wild Bargain could never have been made for us, if the *States* had not found it their Intereſt to uſe very powerful Motives with the chief Adviſers, (I ſay nothing of the Perſon immediately employed;) and if a Party here at Home had not been reſolved, for Ends and Purpoſes very well known, to continue the War as long as they had any Occaſion for it.

The *Counter-Project* of this Treaty made here at *London*, was bad enough in all Conſcience: I have ſaid ſomething of it in the *Preface*; Her Majeſty's Miniſters were inſtructed to proceed by it in their Negotiation. There

was

was one Point in that Project, which would have been of Conſequence to *Britain*, and one or two more, where the Advantages of the *States* were not ſo very exorbitant, and where ſome Care was taken of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Is it poſſible, that *our good Allies and Friends* could not be brought to any Terms with us, unleſs by ſtriking out every Particular that might do us any good, and adding ſtill more to them, where ſo much was already granted? For Inſtance, the Article about demoliſhing of *Dunkirk* ſurely might have remained; which was of ſome Benefit to the *States*, as well as of mighty Advantage to us; and which the *French* King hath lately yielded in one of his Preliminaries, although clogged with the Demand of an Equivalent, which will owe its Difficulty only to this Treaty.

But let me now conſider the Treaty itſelf: Among the one and twenty Articles, of which it conſiſts, only two have any Relation to us, importing, that the *Dutch* are to be Guarantees of our Succeſſion, and are not to enter into any Treaty, until the QUEEN is acknowledged by *France*. We know very well, that it is in Conſequence the Intereſt of the *States*, as much as ours, that *Britain* ſhould be governed by a *Proteſtant* Prince. Beſides, what is there more in this Guarantee, than in all common Leagues Offenſive and Defenſive between two Powers, where each is obliged to defend the other againſt any Invader with all their Strength? Such was the Grand Alliance between the *Em-*

peror, Britain, and *Holland,* which was, or ought to have been, as good a Guarantee of our Succeſſion, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as this in the *Barrier Treaty,* and the mutual Engagements in ſuch Alliances have been always reckoned ſufficient, without any ſeparate Benefit to either Party.

It is, no doubt, for the Intereſt of *Britain,* that the *States* ſhould have a ſufficient Barrier againſt *France*; but their High Mightineſſes, for ſome few Years paſt, have put a different Meaning upon the Word *Barrier,* from what it formerly uſed to bear, when applied to them. When the late King was Prince of *Orange,* and commanded their Armies againſt *France,* it was never once imagined, that any of the Towns taken ſhould belong to the *Dutch*; they were all immediately delivered up to their lawful Monarch; and *Flanders* was only a *Barrier* to *Holland,* as it was in the Hands of *Spain,* rather than *France.* So in the Grand Alliance of 1701, the ſeveral Powers promiſing to endeavour to recover *Flanders* for a Barrier, was underſtood to be the recovering thoſe Provinces to the King of *Spain:* But, in this Treaty, the Style is wholly changed: Here are about twenty Towns and Forts of great Importance, with their Chattellanies and Dependencies (which Dependencies are likewiſe to be enlarged as much as poſſible) and the whole Revenues of them, to be under the perpetual Military Government of the *Dutch,* by which that Republick will be entirely Maſters of the richeſt Part of

of all *Flanders*; and, upon any Appearance of War, they may put the Garriſons into any other Place of the *Low-Countries*; and farther, the King of *Spain* is to give them a Revenue of four hundred thouſand Crowns a Year, to enable them to maintain thoſe Garriſons.

Why ſhould we wonder that the *Dutch* are inclined to perpetuate the War, when, by an Article in this Treaty, the King of *Spain* is *not to poſſeſs one ſingle Town in the* Low-Countries, *until a Peace be made*. The Duke of *Anjou*, at the Beginning of this War, maintained ſix and thirty thouſand Men out of thoſe *Spaniſh* Provinces he then poſſeſſed: To which, if we add the many Towns ſince taken, which were not in the late King of *Spain*'s Poſſeſſion at the Time of his Death, with all their Territories and Dependencies; it is viſible what Forces the *States* may be able to keep, even without any Charge to their peculiar Dominions.

The Towns and Chattellanies of this Barrier always maintained their Garriſons when they were in the Hands of *France*; and, as it is reported, returned a conſiderable Sum of Money into the King's Coffers; yet the King of *Spain* is obliged, by this Treaty (as we have already obſerved) to add, over and above, a Revenue of four hundred thouſand Crowns a Year. We know likewiſe, that a great Part of the Revenue of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* is already pawned to the *States*; ſo that, after a Peace, nothing will be left to the Sovereign,

nor

nor will the People be much eaſed of the Taxes they at preſent labour under.

Thus the *States*, by Virtue of this *Barrier Treaty*, will, in effect, be abſolute Sovereigns of all *Flanders*, and of the whole Revenues in the utmoſt Extent.

And here I cannot, without ſome Contempt, take Notice of a ſort of Reaſoning offered by ſeveral People, that the many Towns we have taken for the *Dutch* are of no Advantage; becauſe the whole Revenues of Towns are ſpent in maintaining them. For, firſt, the Fact is manifeſtly falſe, particularly as to *Liſle*, and ſome others. Secondly, The *States*, after a Peace, are to have four hundred thouſand Crowns a Year out of the Remainder of *Flanders*, which is then to be left to *Spain*. And, laſtly, ſuppoſe all theſe acquired Dominions will not bring a Penny into their Treaſury, what can be of greater Conſequence, than to be able to maintain a mighty Army out of their new Conqueſts, which before they always did by taxing their natural Subjects?

How ſhall we be able to anſwer it to King *Charles* III. that, while we pretend to endeavour reſtoring him to the entire Monarchy of *Spain*, we join at the ſame time with the *Dutch*, to deprive him of his natural Right to the *Low-Countries?*

But ſuppoſe by a *Dutch* Barrier muſt now be underſtood only what is to be in Poſſeſſion of the *States*; yet, even under this Acceptation of the Word, nothing was originally meant

meant except a *Barrier* againſt *France*; whereas ſeveral Towns demanded by the *Dutch* in this Treaty, can be of no Uſe at all in ſuch a *Barrier*. And this is the Sentiment even of Prince *Eugene* himſelf (the preſent Oracle and Idol of the Party here) who ſays, *That* Dendermond, Oſtend, *and the Caſtle of* Gand, *do, in no ſort, belong to the Barrier; nor can be of other Uſe, than to make the* States-General *Maſters of the* Low-Countries, *and hinder their Trade with* England. And further: *That thoſe who are acquainted with the Country, know very well, that* Lier *and* Hale *to* fortify, *can give no Security to the* States, *as a Barrier, but only raiſe a Jealouſy in the People, that thoſe Places are only fortified, in order to block up* Bruſſels, *and the other great Towns of* Brabant.

In thoſe Towns of *Flanders* where the *Dutch* are to have Garriſons, but the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Power to remain to the King of *Spain* after a Peace, the *States* have Power to ſend Arms, Ammunition, and Victuals, without paying Cuſtoms; under which Pretence they will engroſs the whole Trade of thoſe Towns, excluſive of all other Nations.

This Prince *Eugene* likewiſe foreſaw; and, in his Obſervations upon this Treaty, here annexed, propoſed a Remedy for it.

And if the *Dutch* ſhall pleaſe to think, that the whole *Spaniſh Netherlands* are not a ſufficient *Barrier* for them, I know no Remedy from the Words of this Treaty, but that we

must

muſt ſtill go on, and conquer for them as long as they pleaſe. For the QUEEN is obliged, whenever a Peace is treated, to procure for them *whatever ſhall be thought neceſſary* beſides; and where their Neceſſity will terminate, is not very eaſy to foreſee.

Could any of Her Majeſty's Subjects conceive, that, in the Towns we have taken for the *Dutch*, and given into their Poſſeſſion as a *Barrier*, either the *States* ſhould demand, or our *Miniſters* allow, that the Subjects of *Britain* ſhould, in reſpect to their Trade, be uſed worſe in thoſe very Towns, than they were under the late King of *Spain?* Yet this is the Fact, as monſtrous as it appears: All Goods going to or coming from *Newport* or *Oſtend*, are to pay the ſame Duties as thoſe that paſs by the *Schelde* under the *Dutch* Forts: And this, in effect, is to ſhut out all other Nations from trading to *Flanders*. The *Engliſh* Merchants at *Bruges* complain, That, *after they have paid the King of* Spain's *Duty for Goods imported at* Oſtend, *the ſame Goods are made liable to further Duties, when they are carried from thence into the Towns of the* Dutch *new Conqueſts*; and deſire only *the ſame Privileges of Trade they had before the Death of the late King of* Spain, Charles II. And, in Conſequence of this Treaty, the *Dutch* have already taken off Eight *per Cent.* from all Goods they ſend to the *Spaniſh Flanders*, but left it ſtill upon us.

But, what is very ſurprizing, in the very ſame Article where *our good Friends and Allies* are

are wholly ſhutting us out from trading in thoſe Towns we have conquered for them, with ſo much Blood and Treaſure; the QUEEN is obliged to procure, that the *States* ſhall be uſed as favourably in their Trade over all the King of *Spain*'s Dominions, as her own Subjects, or *as the People moſt favoured*. This I humbly conceive to be perfect Boys Play; *Croſs I win*, and *Pile you loſe*; or, *What's yours is mine, and what's mine is my own*. Now if it ſhould happen, that, in a Treaty of Peace, ſome Ports or Towns ſhould be yielded us, for the Security of our Trade, in any Part of the *Spaniſh* Dominions, at how great a Diſtance ſoever; I ſuppoſe the *Dutch* would go on with their *Boys* Play, and *challenge Half*, by Virtue of that Article; or, would they be content with the Military Government and the Revenues, and reckon them among *what ſhall be thought neceſſary* for their Barrier?

This prodigious Article is introduced as ſubſequent to the Treaty of *Munſter*, made about the Year 1648, at a Time when *England* was in the utmoſt Confuſion, and very much to our Diſadvantage. Thoſe Parts in that Treaty, ſo unjuſt in themſeves, and ſo prejudicial to our Trade, ought, in Reaſon, to have been remitted, rather than confirmed upon us for the Time to come. But this is *Dutch* Partnerſhip, to ſhare in all our *beneficial Bargains*, and exclude us wholly from theirs, even for thoſe which we have got for them.

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In one Part of *The Conduct of the Allies, &c.* among other Remarks upon this Treaty, I make it a Queſtion, whether it were right, in Point of Policy or Prudence, to call in a foreign Power to be a Guarantee to our Succeſſion; becauſe, by that Means, *we put it out of the Power of our Legiſlature to alter the Succeſſion, how much ſoever the Neceſſity of the Kingdom may require it?* To comply with the Cautions of ſome People, I explained my Meaning in the following Editions. I was aſſured, that my L---d C---f J---e affirmed, that Paſſage was Treaſon. One of my Anſwerers, I think, decides as favourably; and, I am told, that Paragraph was read very lately during a Debate, with a Comment in very injurious Terms, which, perhaps, might have been ſpared. That the Legiſlature ſhould have Power to change the Succeſſion, whenever the Neceſſities of the Kingdom require, is ſo very uſeful towards preſerving our Religion and Liberty, that I know not how to recant. The worſt of this Opinion is, that, at firſt Sight, it appears to be *Whiggiſh*; but the Diſtinction is thus: The *Whigs* are for changing the Succeſſion when they think fit, although the entire Legiſlature do not conſent; I think it ought never to be done but upon great Neceſſity, and that with the Sanction of the whole Legiſlature. Do theſe Gentlemen of Revolution Principles think it impoſſible, that we ſhould ever have Occaſion again to change our Succeſſion? And, if ſuch

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an Accident ſhould fall out, muſt we have no Remedy, until the Seven Provinces will give their Conſent? Suppoſe that this virulent Party among us were as able, as ſome are willing, to raiſe a Rebellion for re-inſtating them in Power, and would apply themſelves to the *Dutch*, as Guarantees of our Succeſſion, to aſſiſt them with all their Force, under Pretence that the QUEEN and Miniſtry, a great Majority of both Houſes, and the Bulk of the People, were for bringing over *France*, Popery, and the Pretender? Their *High Mightineſſes* would, as I take it, be ſole Judges of the Controverſy, and probably decide it ſo well, that, in ſome Time, we might have the Happineſs of becoming a Province to *Holland*. I am humbly of Opinion, that there are two Qualities neceſſary to a Reader, before his Judgment ſhould be allowed; theſe are, common Honeſty, and common Senſe: and that no Man could have miſrepreſented that Paragraph in my Diſcourſe, unleſs he were utterly deſtitute of one, or both.

The preſumptive Succeſſor, and her immediate Heirs, have ſo eſtabliſhed a Reputation in the World, for their Piety, Wiſdom, and Humanity, that no Neceſſity, of this kind, is like to appear in their Days; but I muſt ſtill inſiſt, that it is a Diminution to the Independency of the Imperial Crown of *Great Britain*, to call at every Door for Help to put our Laws in Execution. And we ought to conſider, that if, in Ages to come, ſuch a Prince ſhould happen to be in Succeſſion to our Throne, who ſhould be

entirely unable to govern; that every Motive might incline our Guarantees to support him, the more effectually to bring the Rivals of their Trade into Confusion and Disorder.

But, to return: The QUEEN is here put under the unreasonable Obligation of being Guarantee of the whole Barrier Treaty; of the *Dutch* having Possession of the said Barrier, and the Revenues thereof, before a Peace, of the Payment of four hundred thousand Crowns by the King of *Spain*; that the *States* shall possess their Barrier, even before King *Charles* is in Possession of the *Spanish Netherlands*; altho', by the fifth Article of the Grand Alliance, Her Majesty is under no Obligation to do any Thing of this Nature, except in a general Treaty.

All Kings, Princes, and States, are invited to enter into this Treaty, and to be Guarantees of its Execution. This Article, although very frequent in Treaties, seems to look very oddly in that of the Barrier. Popish Princes are here invited, among others, to become Guarantees of our Protestant Succession; every petty Prince in *Germany* must be intreated to preserve the QUEEN of *Great Britain* upon her Throne. The King of *Spain* is invited particularly, and by Name, to become Guarantee of the Execution of a Treaty, by which his Allies, who pretend to fight his Battles, and recover his Dominions, strip him, in effect, of all his ten Provinces; a clear Reason why they ne-

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ver ſent any Forces to *Spain*, and why the Obligation not to enter into a Treaty of Peace with *France*, until that entire Monarchy was yielded as a Preliminary, was ſtruck out of the Counter-Project by the *Dutch*. They fought only in *Flanders*, becauſe there they only fought for themſelves. King *Charles* muſt needs accept this Invitation very kindly, and ſtand by with great Satisfaction, while the *Belgick* Lion divides the Prey, and aſſigns it all to himſelf. I remember there was a Parcel of Soldiers, who robbed a Farmer of his Poultry, and then made him wait at Table while they devoured his Victuals, without giving him a Morſel; and, upon his expoſtulating, had only for Anſwer, Why, Sirrah, are we not come here to protect you? And thus much for this generous Invitation to all Kings and Princes to lend their Aſſiſtance, and become Guarantees, out of pure Good-nature, for ſecuring *Flanders* to the *Dutch*.

In the Treaty of *Ryſwick* no Care was taken to oblige the *French* King to acknowledge the Right of Succeſſion in Her preſent Majeſty; for want of which Point being then ſettled, *France* refuſed to acknowledge her for QUEEN of *Great Britain* after the late King's Death. This unaccountable Neglect (if it were a Neglect) is here called an Omiſſion, and Care is taken to ſupply it in the next general Treaty of Peace. I mention this occaſionally, becauſe I have ſome ſtubborn Doubts

within me, whether it were a wilful Omiſſion or no. Neither do I herein reflect in the leaſt upon the Memory of his late Majeſty, whom I entirely acquit of any Imputation upon this Matter. But when I recollect the Behaviour, the Language, and the Principles of ſome certain Perſons in thoſe Days, and compare them with that Omiſſion; I am tempted to draw ſome Concluſions, which a certain Party would be more ready to call falſe and malicious, than to prove them ſo.

I muſt here take leave (becauſe it will not othewiſe fall in my Way) to ſay a few Words in return to a Gentleman, I know not of what Character or Calling, who hath done me the Honour to write three Diſcourſes againſt that Treatiſe of *The Conduct of the Allies*, &c. and promiſes, for my Comfort, to conclude all in a fourth. I pity Anſwerers with all my Heart, for the many Diſadvantages they lie under. My Book did a World of Miſchief (as he calls it) before his firſt Part could poſſibly come out; and ſo went on through the Kingdom, while his limped ſlowly after; and, if it arrived at all, it was too late; for People's Opinions were already fixed. His manner of anſwering me is thus: Of thoſe Facts which he pretended to examine, ſome he reſolutely denies, others he endeavours to extenuate, and the reſt he diſtorts with ſuch unnatural Turns, that I would engage, by the ſame Method, to diſprove any Hiſtory, either ancient or modern. Then the whole

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is interlarded with a thouſand injurious Epithets and Appellations, which heavy Writers are forced to make uſe of, as a Supply for that Want of Spirit and Genius they are not born to: Yet, after all, he allows a very great Point, for which I contend, confeſſing, in plain Words, that the Burthen of the War hath chiefly lain upon us: and thinks it ſufficient for the *Dutch*, that, next to *England*, they have born the greateſt Share. And is not this the great Grievance of which the whole Kingdom complains? I am inclined to think, that my Intelligence was at leaſt as good as his; and ſome of it, I can aſſure him, came from Perſons of his own Party, although perhaps not altogether ſo inflamed. Hitherto, therefore, the Matter is pretty equal, and the World may believe him or me as they pleaſe. But, I think, the great Point of Controverſy between us, is, Whether the Effects and Conſequences of Things follow better from his Premiſſes or mine? And there I will not be ſatisfied, unleſs he will allow the whole Advantage to be on my Side. Here is a flouriſhing Kingdom brought to the Brink of Ruin, by a moſt ſucceſsful and glorious War of ten Years, under an able, diligent, and loyal Miniſtry, a moſt faithful, juſt, and generous Commander, and in Conjunction with the moſt hearty, reaſonable, and ſincere Allies. This is the Caſe, as that Author repreſents it. I have heard a Story, I think it

was of the Duke of * * *, who playing at Hazard at the *Groom Porter's* in much Company, held in a grest many Hands together, and drew a huge Heap of Gold; but, in the Heat of Play, never obſerved a Sharper, who came once or twice under his Arm, and ſwept a great deal of it into his Hat; the Company thought it had been one of his Servants. When the Duke's Hand was out, they were talking how much he had won. Yes, ſaid he, I held in very long: yet, methinks, I have won but very little. They told him, his SERVANT had got the reſt in his Hat; and then he found he was cheated.

It hath been my good Fortune to ſee the moſt important Facts that I have advanced, juſtified by the publick Voice; which, let this Author do what he can, will incline the World to believe, that I may be right in the reſt. And I ſolemnly declare, that I have not wilfully committed the leaſt Miſtake. I ſtopt the ſecond Edition, and made all poſſible Enquiries among thoſe who, I thought, could beſt inform me, in order to correct any Error I could hear of; I did the ſame to the third and fourth Editions, and then left the Printer to his Liberty. This I take for a more effectual Anſwer to all Cavils, than an hundred Pages of Controverſy.

But what diſguſts me from having any thing to do with this Race of Anſwer-Jobbers, is, that they have no ſort of Conſcience

ſcience in their Dealings. To give one Inſtance in this Gentleman's third Part, which I have been lately looking into: When I talk of the moſt petty Princes, he ſays, that I mean crown'd Heads; when I ſay, the Soldiers of thoſe petty Princes are ready to rob or ſtarve at home, he ſays, I call Kings and crowned Heads Robbers and Highwaymen. This is what the *Whigs* call anſwering a Book.

I cannot omit one Particular concerning this Author, who is ſo poſitive in aſſerting his own Facts, and contradicting mine; he affirms, that the Buſineſs of *Toulon* was diſcovered by the Clerk of a certain great Man, who was then Secretary of State. It is neither wiſe, nor for the Credit of his Party, to put us in Mind either of that Secretary, or of that Clerk; however, ſo it happens, that nothing relating to the Affair of *Toulon* did ever paſs through that Secretary's Office: Which I here affirm with great Phlegm, leaving the Epithets of falſe, ſcandalous, villainous, and the reſt, to the Author and his Fellows.

But to leave this Author; let us conſider the Conſequence of our Triumphs, upon which ſome ſet ſo great a Value as to think, that nothing leſs than the Crown can be a ſufficient Reward for the Merit of the *General*. We have not enlarged our Dominions by one Foot of Land: Our Trade, which made us conſider-

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able in the World, is either given up by Treaties, or clogged with Duties, which interrupt and daily leſſen it. We ſee the whole Nation groaning under exceſſive Taxes of all ſorts, to raiſe three Millions of Money for Payment of the Intereſt of thoſe Debts we have contracted. Let us look upon the Reverſe of the Medal, we ſhall ſee our Neighbours, who, in their utmoſt Diſtreſs called for our Aſſiſtance, become, by this Treaty, even in Time of Peace, Maſters of a more conſiderable Country than their own; in a Condition to ſtrike Terror into us with fifty thouſand *Veterans* ready to invade us, from that Country which we have conquered for them: and to commit inſolent Hoſtilities upon us, in all other Parts, as they have lately done in the *Eaſt-Indies*.

The BARRIER-TREATY between Her Majeſty and the STATES-GENERAL.

HER Majeſty the QUEEN *of* Great Britain *and the Lords the* States-General *of the United Provinces, having conſidered how much it concerns the Quiet and Security of their Kingdoms and States, and the publick Tranquillity, to maintain and to ſecure, on one Side, the Succeſſion to the Crown of* Great Britain *in ſuch Manas it is now eſtabliſhld by the Laws of the Kingdom: and, on the other Side, that the* States-General *of the United Provinces ſhould have a ſtrong and ſufficient Barrier againſt* France, *and others, who would ſurprize or attack them:*

And

And Her Majeſty and the ſaid States-General *apprehending, with juſt Reaſon, the Troubles and the Miſchiefs which may happen in relation to this Succeſſion, if at any Time there ſhould be any Perſon, or any Power, who ſhould call it in Queſtion; and that the Countries and States of the ſaid Lords the* States-General *were not furniſhed with ſuch a Barrier. For theſe ſaid Reaſons, Her ſaid Majeſty the* QUEEN *of* Great Britain, *although in the Vigour of her Age, and enjoying perfect Health (which may* GOD *preſerve her in many Years) out of an Effect of her uſual Prudence and Piety, has thought fit to enter with the Lords the* States-General *of the United Provinces into a particular Alliance and Confederacy; the principal End, and only Aim of which ſhall be the publick Quiet and Tranquillity; and to prevent, by Meaſures taken in Time, all the Events which might one Day excite new War. It is with this View, that Her* Britiſh *Majeſty has given her full Power to agree upon ſome Articles of a Treaty, in Addition to the Treaties and Alliances that ſhe hath already with the Lords the* States-General *of the United Provinces, to her Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary,* Charles *Viſcount* Townſhend, *Baron of* Lynn Regis, *Privy-Counſellor to Her* Britiſh *Majeſty, Captain of her ſaid Majeſty's Yeomen of the Guard, and her Lieutenant in the County of* Norfolk; *And the Lords the* States-General *of the United Provinces, the Sieurs* John de Welderen, *Lord of* Valburgh, *Great Bailiff of the* Lower Betewe,

of

of the Body of the Nobility of the Province of Guelder; Frederick *Baron of* Reede, *Lord of* Lier, St. Anthony, *and* T'er Lee, *of the Order of the Nobility of the Province of* Holland *and* Weſt-Friezeland; Anthony Heinſius, *Counſellor-Penſionary of the Province of* Holland *and* Weſt-Friezeland, *Keeper of the Great-Seal, and Super-Intendant of the Fiefs of the ſame Province*; Cornelius Van Gheet, *Lord of* Spranbroek, Bulkeſteyne, *&c.* Gedeon Hoeuft, *Canon of the Chapter of the Church of* St. Peter *at* Utrecht, *and elected Counſellor in the States of the Province of* Utrecht; Haſſel Van Sminia, *Secretary of the Chamber of the Accounts of the Province of* Friezeland; Ernest Itterſum, *Lord of* Oſterbof, *of the Body of the Nobility of the Province of* Overyſſel; *and* Wicher Wichers, *Senator of the City of* Groningen; *all Deputies to the Aſſembly of the ſaid Lords the* States-General *on the one Part, reſpectively of the Provinces of* Guelder, Holland, Weſt-Friezeland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Friezeland, Overyſſel, *and* Groningen *and* Ommelands, *who, by Virtue of their full Powers, are agreed upon the following Articles:*

ARTICLE I.

THE Treaties of Peace, Friendſhip, Alliance, and Confederacy between Her *Britannick* Majeſty and the *States-General* of the United Provinces, ſhall be approved and confirmed by the preſent Treaty, and ſhall remain in their former Force and Vigour, as if they were inſerted Word for Word.

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ARTICLE II.

The Succeſſion to the Crown of *England* having been ſettled by an Act of Parliament, paſſed the twelfth Year of the Reign of his late Majeſty King *William* III. the Title of which is, *An Act for the further Limitations of the Crown, and better ſecuring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject*; and lately, in the ſixth Year of the Reign of Her preſent Majeſty, this Succeſſion having been again eſtabliſhed and confirmed by another Act made for the greater Security of Her Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Great Britain*, &c. in the Line of the moſt Serene Houſe of *Hanover*, and in the Perſon of the Princeſs *Sophia*, and of her Heirs, Succeſſors, and Deſcendants, Male and Female, already born, or to be born. And although no Power hath any Right to oppoſe the Laws made upon this Subject, by the Crown and Parliament of *Great Britain*; if it ſhall happen, nevertheleſs, that under any Pretence, or by any Cauſe whatever, any Perſon, or any Power or State, may pretend to diſpute the Eſtabliſhment, which the Parliament hath made of the aforeſaid Succeſſion in the moſt Serene Houſe of *Hanover*, to oppoſe the ſaid Succeſſion, to aſſiſt or favour thoſe who may oppoſe it, whether directly or indirectly, by open War, or by fomenting Seditions and Conſpiracies againſt her, or him, to whom the Crown of *Great Britain* ſhall deſcend, according to the Acts aforeſaid; the *States-General* engage,

engage, and promiſe to aſſiſt and maintain, in the ſaid Succeſſion, her, or him, to whom it ſhall belong, by Virtue of the ſaid Acts of Parliament, to aſſiſt them in taking Poſſeſſion, if they ſhould not be in actual Poſſeſſion, and to oppoſe thoſe who would diſturb them in the taking ſuch Poſſeſſion, or in the actual Poſſeſſion of the aforeſaid Succeſſion.

ARTICLE III.

Her ſaid Majeſty and the *States-General*, in Conſequence of the fifth Article of the Alliance concluded between the *Emperor*, the late King of *Great Britain*, and the *States-General*, the ſeventh of *September* 1701, will employ all their Force to recover the reſt of the *Spaniſh Low-Countries*.

ARTICLE IV.

And further, they will endeavour to conquer as many Towns and Forts as they can, in order to their being a Barrier and Security to the ſaid *States*.

ARTICLE V.

And whereas, according to the ninth Article of the ſaid Alliance, it is to be agreed, amongſt other Matters, how, and in what Manner the *States* ſhall be made ſafe by Means of this Barrier, the QUEEN of *Great Britain* will uſe her Endeavours to procure that, in the Treaty of Peace, it may be agreed, that all the *Spaniſh Low-Countries*, and what elſe may be found neceſſary, whether conquered or unconquered Places, ſhall ſerve as a Barrier to the *States*.

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ARTICLE VI.

That to this End their High Mightineſſes ſhall have the Liberty to put and keep Garriſon, to change, augment, and diminiſh it as they ſhall judge proper, in the Places following: Namely, *Newport*, *Furnes*, with the Fort of *Knocke*, *Ypres*, *Menin*, the Town and Citadel of *Liſle*, *Tournay* and its Citadel, *Conde*, *Valenciennes*, and the Places which ſhall from henceforward be conquered from *France*, *Maubeuge*, *Charleroy*, *Namur* and its Citadel, *Lire*, *Halle* to fortify, the Forts of *Perle*, *Philippe*, *Damme*, the Caſtle of *Gand*, and *Dendermonde*. The Fort of St. *Donas* being joined to the Fortification of the *Sluce*, and being entirely incorporated with it, ſhall remain, and be yielded in Property to the *States*. The Fort of *Rodenhuyſen*, on this Side *Gand*, ſhall be demoliſhed.

ARTICLE VII.

The ſaid *States-General* may, in Caſe of an apparent Attack, or War, put as many Troops as they ſhall think neceſſary in all the Towns, Places, and Forts in the *Spaniſh Low-Countries*, where the Reaſon of War ſhall require it.

ARTICLE VIII.

They may likewiſe ſend into the Towns, Forts, and Places, where they ſhall have their Garriſons, without any Hindrance, and without paying any Duties, Proviſions, Ammunitions of War, Arms, and Artillery, Materials for the Fortifications, and all that ſhall

be found convenient and neceſſary for the ſaid Garriſons and Fortifications.

ARTICLE IX.

The ſaid *States-General* ſhall alſo have Liberty to appoint in the Towns, Forts, and Places of their Barrier, mentioned in the foregoing ſixth Article, where they may have Garriſons, ſuch Governors and Commanders, Majors, and other Officers, as they ſhall find proper, who ſhall not be ſubject to any other Orders, whatſoever they may be, or from whenceſoever they may come, relating to the Security and Military Government of the ſaid Places, but only to thoſe of their High Mightineſſes (excluſive of all others;) ſtill preſerving the Rights and Privileges, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Political, of King *Charles* the Third.

ARTICLE X.

That, beſides, the *States* ſhall have Liberty to fortify the ſaid Towns, Places, and Forts, which belong to them, and repair the Fortifications of them, in ſuch manner as they ſhall judge neceſſary; and further to do whatever ſhall be uſeful for their Defence.

ARTICLE XI.

It is agreed, that the *States-General* ſhall have all the Revenues of the Towns, Places, Juriſdictions, and their Dependences, which they ſhall have for their Barrier from *France*, which were not in the Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *Spain* at the Time of the Death of the late King *Charles* II. and, beſides, a Million of Livres ſhall be ſettled for the Payment of one hundred

hundred thouſand Crowns every three Months, out of the cleareſt Revenues of the *Spaniſh Low-Countries*, which the ſaid King was then in Poſſeſſion of; both which are for maintaining the Garriſons of the *States*, and for ſupplying the Fortifications, as alſo the Magazines, and other neceſſary Expences, in the Towns and Places above-mentioned. And that the ſaid Revenues may be ſufficient to ſupport theſe Expences, Endeavours ſhall be uſed for enlarging the Dependences and Juriſdictions aforeſaid, as much as poſſible; and, particularly, for including with the Juriſdiction of *Ypres*, that of *Caſſel*, and the Foreſt of *Niepe*; and, with the Juriſdiction of *Liſle*, the Juriſdiction of *Douay*, both having been ſo joined before the preſent War.

ARTICLE XII.

That no Town, Fort, Place, or Country of the *Spaniſh Low-Countries*, ſhall be granted, transferred, or given, or deſcend to the Crown of *France*, or any of the Line of *France*, neither by Virtue of any Gift, Sale, Exchange, Marriage, Agreement, Inheritance, Succeſſion by Will, or through Want of Will, from no Title whatſoever, nor in any other Manner whatever, nor be put into the Power, or under the Authority of the moſt Chriſtian King, or any one of the Line of *France*.

ARTICLE XIII.

And whereas the ſaid *States-General*, in Conſequence of the ninth Article of the ſaid Alliance, are to make a Convention or Treaty

with King *Charles* the Third, for putting the *States* in a Condition of Safety by Means of the ſaid Barrier, the QUEEN of *Great Britain* will do what depends upon her, that all the foregoing Particulars, relating to the Barrier of the *States*, may be inſerted in the aforeſaid Treaty or Convention; and that Her ſaid Majeſty will continue her good Offices, until the above-mentioned Convention between the *States* and the ſaid King *Charles* the Third be concluded, agreeably to what is before-mentioned; and that Her Majeſty will be Guarantee of the ſaid Treaty or Convention.

ARTICLE XIV.

And that the ſaid *States* may enjoy from henceforward, as much as poſſible, a Barrier for the *Spaniſh Low-Countries*, they ſhall be permitted to put their Garriſons in the Towns already taken, and which may hereafter be ſo, before the Peace be concluded and ratified. And, in the mean time, the ſaid King *Charles* III. ſhall not be allowed to enter into Poſſeſſion of the ſaid *Spaniſh Low-Countries*, neither entirely, nor in Part: And during that Time, the QUEEN ſhall aſſiſt their High Mightineſſes to maintain them in the Enjoyment of the Revenues, and to find the Million of Livres a Year above-mentioned.

ARTICLE XV.

And whereas their High Mightineſſes have ſtipulated by the Treaty of *Munſter*, in the fourteenth Article, That the River *Scheld*, as alſo the Canals of *Sas*, *Swan*, and other Mouths of

of the Sea bordering thereupon, ſhould be kept ſhut on the Side of the *States*:

And, in the fifteenth Article, that the Ships and Commodities going in and coming out of the Harbours of *Flanders*, ſhall be, and remain charged with all ſuch Impoſts, and other Duties, as are raiſed upon Commodities going and coming along the *Scheld*, and the other Canals above-mentioned:

The QUEEN of *Great Britain* promiſes and engages, That their High Mightineſſes ſhall never be diſturbed in their Right and Poſſeſſion, in that reſpect, neither directly nor indirectly; as alſo that the Commerce ſhall not, in prejudice of the ſaid Treaty, be made more eaſy by the Sea-ports than by the Rivers, Canals, and Mouths of the Sea, on the Side of the *States* of the *United Provinces*, neither directly nor indirectly.

And whereas by the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth Articles of the ſame Treaty of *Munſter*, his Majeſty the King of *Spain* is obliged to treat the Subjects of their High Mightineſſes as favourably as the Subjects of *Great Britain*, and the *Hans* Towns, who were then the People moſt favourably treated; Her *Britannick* Majeſty and their High Mightineſſes promiſe likewiſe to take care, that the Subjects of *Great Britain*, and of their High Mightineſſes, ſhall be treated in the *Spaniſh Low-Countries*, as well as in *Spain*, the Kingdoms and States belong-

ing to it, equally, and as well the one as the other, as the People moſt favoured.

ARTICLE XVI.

The ſaid QUEEN and *States-General* oblige themſelves to furniſh, by Sea and Land, the Succours and Aſſiſtance neceſſary to maintain, by Force, Her ſaid Majeſty in the quiet Poſſeſſion of her Kingdoms; and the moſt Serene Houſe of *Hanover* in the ſaid Succeſſion, in the manner it is ſettled by the Acts of Parliament before-mentioned; and to maintain the ſaid *States-General* in the Poſſeſſion of the ſaid Barrier.

ARTICLE XVII.

After the Ratifications of the Treaty, a particular Convention ſhall be made of the Conditions by which the ſaid QUEEN, and the ſaid Lords the *States-General*, will engage themſelves to furniſh the Succours which ſhall be thought neceſſary, as well by Sea as Land.

ARTICLE XVIII.

If Her *Britiſh* Majeſty, or the *States-General* of the United Provinces, be attacked by any Body whatſoever, by Reaſon of this Convention, they ſhall mutually aſſiſt one another with all their Forces, and become Guarantees of the Execution of the ſaid Convention.

ARTICLE XIX.

There ſhall be invited and admitted into the preſent Treaty, as ſoon as poſſible, all the Kings, Princes, and States, who ſhall be willing

willing to enter into the ſame, particularly his *Imperial* Majeſty, the Kings of *Spain* and *Pruſſia*, and the Elector of *Hanover*. And Her *Britiſh* Majeſty, and the *States-General* of the United Provinces, and each of them in particular, ſhall be permitted to require and invite thoſe whom they ſhall think fit to require and invite, to enter into this Treaty, and to be Guarantees of its Execution.

ARTICLE XX.

And as Time hath ſhewn the Omiſſion which was made in the Treaty ſigned at *Ryſwick*, in the Year 1697, between *England* and *France*, in reſpect of the Right of the Succeſſion of *England*, in the Perſon of Her Majeſty the QUEEN of *Great Britain*, now reigning; and that, for Want of having ſettled in that Treaty this indiſputable Right of her Majeſty; *France* refuſed to acknowledge her for QUEEN of *Great Britain* after the Death of the late King *William* III. of glorious Memory: Her Majeſty the QUEEN of *Great Britain*, and the Lords the *States-General* of the United Provinces, do agree, and engage themſelves likewiſe, not to enter into any Negotiation, or Treaty of Peace with *France*, before the Title of her Majeſty to the Crown of *Great Britain*, as alſo the Right of Succeſſion of the moſt Serene Houſe of *Hanover* to the aforeſaid Crown, in the Manner it is ſettled and eſtabliſhed by the before-mentioned Acts of Parliament, be fully acknowledged as a Preliminary

nary by *France*, and that *France* hath promiſed at the ſame Time to remove out of its Dominions the Perſon who pretends to be King of *Great Britain*; and that no Negotiation, or formal Diſcuſſion of the Articles of the ſaid Treaty of Peace ſhall be entered into, but jointly, and at the ſame Time with the ſaid QUEEN, or with her Miniſters.

ARTICLE XXI.

Her *Britiſh* Majeſty, and the Lords the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, ſhall ratify and confirm all that is contained in the preſent Treaty, within the ſpace of four Weeks, to be reckoned from the Day of the Signing. In Teſtimony whereof the underwritten Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Her *Britiſh* Majeſty, and the Deputies of the Lords the *States-General*, have ſigned this preſent Treaty, and have affixed their Seals thereunto.

At the Hague *the* 29th *of* Oct. *in the Year* 1709.

(L. S.) Townſhend.
(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.
(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.
(L. S.) E. V. Itterſum.
(L. S.) J. V. Welderen.
(L. S.) A. Heinſius.
(L. S.) H. Sminia.
(L. S.) W. Wichers.

The

The Separate ARTICLE.

AS in the Preliminary Articles ſigned here at the Hague *the* 28th *of* May 1709, *by the Plenipotentiaries of his* Imperial *Majeſty, her Majeſty the* QUEEN *of* Great Britain, *and of the Lords the* States-General *of the United Provinces, it is ſtipulated, amongſt other Things, that the Lords the* States-General *ſhall have, with entire Property and Sovereignty, the Upper Quarter of* Guelder, *according to the fifty-ſecond Article of the Treaty of* Munſter, *of the Year* 1648; *as alſo, that the Garriſons which are, or hereafter ſhall be, on the Part of the Lords the* States-General, *in the Town of* Huy, *the Citadel of* Liege, *and in the Town of* Bonne, *ſhall remain there, until it ſhall be otherwiſe agreed upon with his* Imperial *Majeſty and the Empire. And as the Barrier, which is this Day agreed upon in the principal Treaty, for the mutual Guarantee between Her* Britiſh *Majeſty and the Lords the* States-General, *cannot give to the United Provinces the Safety for which it is eſtabliſhed, unleſs it be well ſecured from one End to the other, and that the Communication of it be well joined together; for which the Upper Quarter of* Guelder, *and the Garriſons in the Citadel of* Liege, Huy, *and* Bonne, *are abſolutely neceſſary: Experience having thrice ſhewn, that* France *having a Deſign to attack the United Pro-*

Provinces, has made uſe of the Places abovementioned, in order to come at them, and to penetrate into the ſaid Provinces. That further, in reſpect to the Equivalent for which the Upper Quarter of Guelder *is to be yielded to the United Provinces, according to the fifty-ſecond Article of the Treaty of* Munſter *abovementioned, his Majeſty King* Charles III. *will be much more gratified and advantaged in other Places, than that Equivalent can avail. So that to the End the Lords the* States-General *may have the Upper Quarter of* Guelder, *with entire Property and Sovereignty; and that the ſaid Upper Quarter of* Guelder *may be yielded in this Manner to the ſaid Lords the* States-General, *in the Convention, or the Treaty that they are to make with his Majeſty King* Charles III. *according to the thirteenth Article of the Treaty concluded this Day; as alſo that their Garriſons in the Citadel of* Liege, *in that of* Huy, *and in* Bonne, *may remain there, until it be otherwiſe agreed upon with his* Imperial *Majeſty and the Empire; Her Majeſty the* QUEEN *of* Great Britain *engages Herſelf, and promiſes by this ſeparate Article, which ſhall have the ſame Force as if it were inſerted in the principal Treaty, to make the ſame Efforts for all this, as ſhe hath engaged herſelf to make for the obtaining the Barrier in the* Spaniſh Low-Countries. *In Teſtimony whereof the underwritten Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of her* Britiſh *Majeſty, and Deputies of the Lords the* States-General, *have ſigned the preſent ſeparate Article,*

Article, and have affixed their Seals thereunto.

At the *Hague* the 29th of *October* 1709.

(L. S.) Townſhend.
(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.
(L. S.) G. Hoeuſt.
(L. S.) E. V. Itterſum.
(L. S.) J. V. Welderen.
(L. S.) A. Heinſius.
(L. S.) H. Sminia.
(L. S.) W. Wichers.

The ſecond Separate ARTICLE.

AS the Lords the States-General *have repreſented, That, in* Flanders, *the Limits between* Spaniſh-Flanders *and that of the* States, *are ſettled in ſuch a Manner, as that the Land belonging to the* States *is extremely narrow there, ſo that in ſome Places the Territory of* Spaniſh Flanders *extends itſelf to the Fortifications, and under the Cannon of the Places, Towns, and Forts of the* States, *which occaſions many Inconveniencies, as hath been ſeen by an Example a little before the Beginning of the preſent War, when a Fort was deſigned to have been built under the Cannon of the* Sas Van Gand, *under Pretence, that it was upon the Territory of* Spain: *And as it is neceſſary, for avoiding theſe, and other Sorts of Inconveniencies, that the*

the Land of the States, *upon the Confines of* Flanders, *ſhould be enlarged, and that the Places, Towns, and Forts, ſhould, by that Means, be better covered: Her* Britiſh *Majeſty entering into the juſt Motives of the ſaid Lords the* States-General *in this Reſpect, promiſes and engages herſelf by this ſeparate Article, That, in the Convention which the ſaid Lords the* States-General *are to make with his Majeſty King* Charles the Third, *ſhe will aſſiſt them, as that it may be agreed, That, by the Ceſſion to the ſaid Lords the* States-General, *of the Property of an Extent of Land neceſſary to obviate ſuch like, and other Inconveniencies, their Limits in* Flanders *ſhall be enlarged more conveniently for their Security; and thoſe of the* Spaniſh Flanders *removed farther from their Towns, Places, and Forts, to the End that theſe may not be ſo expoſed any more. In Teſtimony whereof the underwritten Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of her* Britiſh *Majeſty, and Deputies of the Lords the* States-General, *have ſigned the preſent Article, and have affixed their Seals thereunto.*

At the *Hague* the 29th of *October* 1709.

(L. S.) Townſhend.
(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.
(L. S.) A. Heinſius.
(L. S.) G. Hoeuſt.
(L. S.) H. Sminia.
(L. S.) E. V. Itterſum.

The

The Articles of the COUNTER-PROJECT, *which were ſtruck out, or altered by the* Dutch *in the* BARRIER-TREATY; *with ſome* REMARKS.

ARTICLE VI.

TO this End their High Mightineſſes ſhall have Power to put and keep Garriſons in in the following Places, *viz. Newport, Knocke, Menin*, the Citadel of *Liſle*, *Tournay*, *Conde*, *Valenciennes*, *Namur* and its Citadel, *Lire*, *Halle* to fortify, the Forts of *Perle*, *Damme*, and the Caſtle of *Gand*.

REMARKS.

In the Barrier Treaty, the *States* added the following Places to thoſe mentioned in this Article, *viz. Furnes*, *Ypres*, Towns of *Liſle*, *Maubeuge*, *Charleroy*, *Philippe*, Fort of *St. Donas* (which is to be in Property to the *States*) and the Fort of *Rodenhuyſen* to be demoliſhed. To ſay nothing of the other Places, *Dendermonde* is the Key of all *Brabant*; and the demoliſhing of the Fort of *Rodenhuyſen*, ſituate between *Gand* and *Sas van Gand*, can only ſerve to defraud the King of *Spain* of the Duties upon Goods imported and exported there.

ARTICLE VII.

The ſaid *States* may put into the ſaid Towns, Forts, and Places, and, in caſe of open War

with *France*, into all the other Towns, Places, and Forts, whatever Troops the Reaſon of War ſhall require.

REMARKS.

But in the Barrier Treaty it is ſaid: *In Caſe of an apparent Attack, or War*, without ſpecifying againſt *France*: Neither is the Number of Troops limited to what the Reaſon of War ſhall require, but what the *States* ſhall think neceſſary.

ARTICLE IX.

Beſides ſome ſmaller Differences, ends with a Salvo, not only for the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Right of the King of *Spain*, but likewiſe for his Revenues in the ſaid Towns; which Revenues, in the Barrier Treaty, are all given to the *States*.

ARTICLE XI.

The Revenues of the Chattellanies and Dependencies of the Towns and Places, which the *States* ſhall have for their Barrier againſt *France*, and which were not in the Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *Spain* at the late King of *Spain*'s Death, ſhall be ſettled to be a Fund for maintaining Garriſons, and providing for the Fortifications, and Magazines, and other neceſſary Charges of the ſaid Towns of the Barrier.

REMARKS.

I deſire the Reader to compare this with the eleventh Article of the Barrier Treaty, where

where he will ſee how prodigiouſly it is enlarged.

ARTICLE XIV.

All this to be without Prejudice to ſuch other Treaties and Conventions as the QUEEN of *Great Britain*, and their High Mightineſſes may think fit to make for the future with the ſaid King *Charles* the Third, relating to the ſaid *Spaniſh Netherlands*, or to the ſaid Barrier.

ARTICLE XV.

And to the end the ſaid *States* may enjoy, at preſent, as much as it is poſſible, a Barrier in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, they ſhall be permitted to put their Garriſons in the chief Towns already taken, or that may be taken, before a Peace be made.

REMARKS.

Theſe two Articles are not in the Barrier Treaty, but two others in their ſtead; to which I refer the Reader. And indeed it was highly neceſſary for the *Dutch* to ſtrike out the former of theſe Articles, when ſo great a Part of the Treaty is ſo highly and manifeſtly prejudicial to *Great Britain*, as well as to the King of *Spain*; eſpecially in the two Articles inſerted in the Place of theſe, which I deſire the Reader will examine.

ARTICLE XX.

And whereas by the fifth and ninth Articles of the Alliance between the *Emperor*, the late King of *Great Britain*, and the *States-General*,

concluded the ſeventh of *September* 1701, it is agreed and ſtipulated, that the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, with all the Dependencies of the Crown of *Spain* in *Italy*, ſhall be recovered from the Poſſeſſion of *France*, as being of the laſt Conſequence to the Trade of both Nations; as well as the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, for a Barrier for the *States-General*; therefore the ſaid QUEEN of *Great Britain* and the *States-General* agree and oblige themſelves, not to enter into any Negotiation or Treaty of Peace with *France*, before the Reſtitution of the ſaid Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, with all the Dependencies of the Crown of *Spain* in *Italy*, as well as the *Spaniſh Low-Countries*, with the other Towns and Places in the Poſſeſſion of *France*, above-mentioned in this Treaty; and alſo after the Manner ſpecified in this Treaty; as likewiſe all the reſt of the entire Monarchy of *Spain* be yielded by *France* as a Preliminary.

ARTICLE XXII.

And whereas Experience hath ſhewn of what Importance it is to *Great Britain* and the *United Provinces*, that the Fortreſs and Port of *Dunkirk* ſhould not be in the Poſſeſſion of *France*, in the Condition they are at preſent; the Subjects of both Nations having undergone ſuch great Loſſes, and ſuffered ſo much in their Trade, by the Prizes taken from them by Privateers ſet out from that Port; inſomuch that *France*, by her unmeaſurable

ſuitable Ambition, may be always tempted to make ſome Enterprizes upon the Territories of the QUEEN of *Great Britain* and their High Mightineſſes, and interrupt the publick Repoſe and Tranquillity; for the Preſervation of which, and the Balance of *Europe* againſt the exorbitant Power of *France*, the Allies engaged themſelves in this long and burthenſome War; therefore the ſaid QUEEN of *Great Britain*, and their High Mightineſſes, agree and oblige themſelves, not to enter into any Negotiation, or Treaty of Peace, with *France*, before it ſhall be yielded and ſtipulated by *France*, as a Preliminary, that all the Fortifications of the ſaid Town of *Dunkirk*, and the Forts that depend upon it, be entirely demoliſhed and razed, and that the Port be entirely ruined, and rendered impracticable.

REMARKS.

Theſe two Articles are likewiſe omitted in the Barrier Treaty; whereof the firſt regards particularly the Intereſts of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and the other, about demoliſhing *Dunkirk*, thoſe of *Great Britain*. It is ſomething ſtrange, that the late Miniſtry, whoſe Advocates raiſe ſuch a Clamour about the Neceſſity of recovering *Spain* from the Houſe of *Bourbon*, ſhould ſuffer the *Dutch* to ſtrike out this Article, which, I think, clearly ſhews the Reaſon why the *States* never troubled themſelves with the Thoughts of reducing *Spain*, or even recovering *Milan*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*, to the *Emperor*; but were wholly fixed upon

on the Conqueſt of *Flanders*, becauſe they had determined thoſe Provinces as a Property for themſelves.

As for the Article about demoliſhing of *Dunkirk*, I am not at all ſurprized to find it ſtruck out; the Deſtruction of that Place, although it would be uſeful to the *States*, doth more nearly import *Britain*, and was therefore a Point that ſuch Miniſters could more eaſily get over.

The Sentiments of Prince EUGENE of Savoy, *and of the Count* DE SINZENDORF, *relating to the Barrier of the* States-General, *to the Upper Quarter of* Guelder, *and to the Towns of the Electorate of* Cologn, *and of the Biſhoprick of* Liege.

ALTHOUGH the Orders and Inſtructions of the Courts of *Vienna* and *Barcelona*, upon the Matters above-mentioned, do not go ſo far as to give Directions for what follows; notwithſtanding, the PRINCE and COUNT above-mentioned, conſidering the preſent State of Affairs, are of the following Opinion:

Firſt, that the Counter-Project of *England*, relating to the Places where the *States-General* may put and keep Garriſons, ought to be followed, except *Lire*, *Halle* to fortify, and the Caſtle of *Gand*. Provided likewiſe, that the Sentiments of *England* be particularly conformformed, to relating to *Dendermonde* and *Oſtend*,

as

as Places in no wiſe belonging to the Barrier; and which, as well as the Caſtle of *Gand*, can only ſerve to make the *States-General* Maſters of the *Low-Countries*, and hinder Trade with *England*. And as to *Lire* and *Halle*, thoſe who are acquainted with the Country, know, that thoſe Towns cannot give any Security to the *States-General*; but can only make People believe, that theſe Places, being fortified, would rather ſerve to block up *Bruſſels*, and the other great Cities of *Brabant*.

Secondly, As to what is ſaid in the ſeventh Article of the Counter-Project of *England*, relating to the Augmentation of Garriſons in the Towns of the Barrier, in caſe of an open War; this is agreeable to the Opinions of the ſaid *Prince* and *Count*; who think likewiſe, that there ought to be added to the eighth Article, That no Goods or Merchandiſe ſhould be ſent into the Towns where the *States-General* ſhall have Garriſons, nor be comprehended under the Names of ſuch Things, as the ſaid Garriſons and Fortifications ſhall have need of. And that to this End, the ſaid Things ſhall be inſpected in thoſe Places where they are to paſs; as likewiſe the Quantity ſhall be ſettled that the Garriſons may want.

Thirdly, As to the ninth Article, relating to the Governors and Commanders of thoſe Towns, Forts, and Places, where the *States-General* ſhall have their Garriſons; the ſaid *Prince* and *Count* are of Opinion, that the ſaid Governors and Commanders ought to take an

Oath, as well to the King of *Spain*, as to the *States-General*: But they may take a particular Oath to the latter, That they will not admit foreign Troops without their Conſent; and that they will depend excluſively upon the ſaid *States*, in whatever regards the Military Power. But, at the ſame Time, they ought excluſively to promiſe the King of *Spain*, That they will not intermeddle in the Affairs of Law, Civil Power, Revenues, or any other Matters, Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, unleſs at the Deſire of the King's Officers to aſſiſt them in the Execution; in which Caſe the ſaid Commanders ſhould be obliged not to refuſe them.

Fourthly, As to the tenth Article, there is nothing to be added, unleſs that the *States-General* may repair and encreaſe the Fortifications of the Towns, Places, and Forts, where they ſhall have their Garriſons; but this at their own Expence. Otherwiſe, under that Pretext, they might ſeize all the Revenues of the Country.

Fifthly, As to the eleventh Article, they think the *States* ought not to have the Revenues of the Chattellanies and Dependencies of theſe Towns and Places which are to be their Barrier againſt *France*; this being a Sort of Sovereignty, and very prejudicial to the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Oeconomy of the Country. But the ſaid *Prince* and *Count* are of Opinion, that the *States-General* ought to have, for the Maintenance of their Garriſons and Fortifications, a Sum of Money of a Million and a half, or two

Millions

Millions of Florins, which they ought to receive from the King's Officers, who ſhall be ordered to pay that Sum before any other Payment.

Sixthly, And the Convention which ſhall be made on this Affair, between his *Catholick* Majeſty and the *States-General*, ſhall be for a limited Time.

Theſe are the utmoſt Conditions to which the ſaid *Prince* and *Count* think it poſſible for his *Catholick* Majeſty to be brought; and they declare, at the ſame Time, that their *Imperial* and *Catholick* Majeſties will ſooner abandon the *Low-Countries*, than take them upon other Conditions, which would be equally expenſive, ſhameful, and unacceptable to them.

On the other Side, the ſaid *Prince* and *Count* are perſuaded, that the Advantages, at this Time yielded to the *States-General*, may hereafter be very prejudicial to themſelves; foraſmuch as they may put the People of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* to ſome dangerous Extremity, conſidering the Antipathy between the two Nations; and that extending of Frontiers is entirely contrary to the Maxims of their Government.

As to the Upper Quarter of *Guelder*, the *Prince* and *Count* are of Opinion, that the *States-General* may be allowed the Power of putting in Garriſons into *Venlo*, *Ruremond*, and *Steffenſwaert*, with Orders to furniſh the ſaid *States* with

with the Revenues of the Country, which amount to one hundred thouſand Florins.

As to *Bonne*, belonging to the Electorate of *Cologn*, *Liege* and *Huy* to the Biſhoprick of *Liege*, it is to be underſtood, that theſe being *Imperial* Towns, it doth not depend upon the *Emperor* to conſent, that foreign Garriſons ſhould be placed in them upon any Pretence whatſoever. But whereas the *States-General* demand them only for their Security, it is propoſed to place in thoſe Towns a Garriſon of *Imperial* Troops, of whom the *States* may be in no Suſpicion, as they might be of a Garriſon of an Elector, who might poſſibly have Views oppoſite to their Intereſts. But this is propoſed only in caſe that it ſhall not be thought more proper to raze one or other of the ſaid Towns.

The Repreſentation of the Engliſh *Merchants at* Bruges, *relating to the* Barrier Treaty.

DAVID WHITE, *and other Merchants, Her Majeſty's Subjects, reſiding at* Bruges *and other Towns in* Flanders, *crave Leave humbly to repreſent:*

THAT whereas the Cities of *Liſle*, *Tournay*, *Menin*, *Douay*, and other new Conqueſts in *Flanders* and *Artois*, taken from the *French* this War, by the united Forces of Her Majeſty, and Her Allies, are now become entirely under the Government of the *States-*

States-General; and that we, Her Majeſty's Subjects, may be made liable to ſuch Duties and Impoſitions on Trade, as the ſaid *States-General* ſhall think fit to impoſe on us: We humbly hope and conceive, that it is Her Majeſty's Intention and Deſign, that the Trade of her Dominions and Subjects, which is carried on with theſe new Conqueſts, may be on an eqnal Foot with that of the Subjects and Dominions of the *States-General*, and not be liable to any new Duty, when tranſported from the *Spaniſh Netherlands* to the ſaid new Conqueſts; as, to our great Surprize, is exacted from us on the following Goods, *viz.* Butter, Tallow, Salmon, Hides, Beef, and all other Products of Her Majeſty's Dominions, which we import at *Oſtend*, and there pay the Duty of Entry to the King of *Spain*, and conſequently ought not to be liable to any new Duty, when they carry the ſame Goods, and all others from their Dominions, by a free Paſs or *Tranſire*, to the ſaid new Conqueſts: And we are under Apprehenſion, that if the ſaid new Conqueſts be ſettled, or given entirely into the Poſſeſſion of the *States-General* for the Barrier (as we are made believe by a Treaty lately made by Her Majeſty's Ambaſſador, the Lord Viſcount *Townſhend*, at the *Hague*) that the ſaid *States-General* may alſo ſoon declare all Goods and Merchandiſes, which are contraband in their Provinces, to be alſo contraband, or prohibited in theſe new Conqueſts, or new Barrier, by which Her Majeſty's Subjects

jects will be deprived of the Sale and Conſumption of the following Products of Her Majeſty's Dominions, which are, and have long been, declared contraband in the *United Provinces*, ſuch as *Engliſh* and *Scots* Salt, Malt Spirits, or Corn Brandy, and all other Sorts of diſtilled *Engliſh* Spirits; Whale and Rape Oil, *&c.*

It is therefore humbly conceived, that Her Majeſty, out of her great Care and gracious Concern for the Benefit of her Subjects and Dominions, may be pleaſed to direct, by a Treaty of Commerce, or ſome other Way, that their Trade may be put on an equal Foot in all the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and the new Conqueſts of Barrier, with the Subjects of *Holland*, by paying no other Duty than that of Importation to the King of *Spain*; and, by a Proviſion, that no Product of her Majeſty's Dominions ſhall ever be declared contraband in theſe new Conqueſts, except ſuch Goods as were eſteemed contraband before the Death of *Charles* II. King of *Spain*. And it is alſo humbly prayed, that the Product and Manufacture of the new Conqueſts may be alſo exported without paying any new Duty, beſides that of Exportation at *Oſtend*, which was always paid to the King of *Spain*; it being impoſſible for any Nation in *Europe* to aſſort an entire Cargo for the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*, without a conſiderable Quantity of ſeveral of the Manufactures of *Liſle*; ſuch as Caradoros, Cajant,

Cajant, Picoſes, Boratten, and many other Goods.

The chief Things to be demanded of *France*, are to be exempted from Tonnage, to have a Liberty of importing Herrings, and all other Fiſh, to *France*, on the ſame Terms as the *Dutch* do, and as was agreed by them at the Treaty of Commerce immediately after the Treaty of Peace at *Ryſwick*. The enlarging Her Majeſty's Plantations in *America*, &c. is naturally recommended.

A

PREFACE

To the RIGHT REVEREND

Dr. *BURNET*, B---p of *S*--'s

INTRODUCTION

To the THIRD VOLUME of the

History of the Reformation

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Spargere voces
In vulgum ambiguas, & quærere conſcius arma.

Written in the Year 1712.

TO THE

BOOKSELLER.

Mr. Morphew,

YOUR Care in putting an Advertiſement in the Examiner *hath been of very great Uſe to me. I now ſend you my Preface to the B——p of* Sarum's Introduction *to his third Volume, which I deſire you to print in ſuch Form, as, in the Bookſeller's Phraſe, will make a* Six-penny Touch; *hoping it will give ſuch a publick Notice of my*

A

PREFACE

To the RIGHT REVEREND

Dr. *B*——*T*, B—p of *S*——'s

INTRODUCTION, &c.

THIS Way of publiſhing Introductions to Books that are, GOD knows when, to come out, is either wholly new, or ſo long unpractiſed, that my ſmall Reading cannot trace it. However, we are to ſuppoſe, that a Perſon of his Lordſhip's great Age and Experience would hardly act ſuch a Piece of Singularity, without ſome extraordinary Motives. I cannot but obſerve, that his *Fellow Labourer, the Author of the Paper called *The Engliſhman*, ſeems, in ſome of his late Performances, to have almoſt tranſcribed the Notions of the B——p: Theſe Notions I take to have been dictated by the ſame Maſters, leaving

* Mr. STEELE.

leaving to each Writer that peculiar Manner of expreſſing himſelf, which the Poverty of our Language forceth me to call their Style. When the *Guardian* changed his Title, and profeſſed to engage in Faction, I was ſure the Word was given; that grand Preparations were making againſt next Seſſions; that all Advantages would be taken of the little Diſſentions reported to be among thoſe in Power; and that the *Guardian* would ſoon be ſeconded by ſome other Piquerers from the ſame Camp. But I will confeſs my Suſpicions did not carry me ſo far as to conjecture, that this venerable Champion will be in ſuch mighty Haſte to come into the Field, and ſerve in the Quality of an *Enfant perdu*, armed only with a *Pocket-Piſtol*, before his great *Blunderbuſs* could be got ready, his old ruſty *Breaſt-plate* ſcoured, and his cracked *Head-piece* mended.

I was debating with myſelf, whether this Hint of producing a ſmall Pamphlet to give Notice of a large Folio, was not borrowed from the Ceremonial in *Spaniſh* Romances, where a *Dwarf* is ſent out upon the Battlements, to ſignify to all Paſſengers, what a mighty *Giant* there is in the Caſtle: Or, whether the B---p copied this Proceeding from the *Fanfaronnade* of Monſieur *Boufflers*, when the Earl of *Portland* and that General had an Interview. Several Men were appointed, at certain Periods, to ride in great Haſte towards the *Engliſh* Camp, and cry out, *Monſeigneur vient*, *Monſeigneur vient*: Then ſmall Parties advanced with the ſame Speed, and the

the ſame Cry; and this Foppery held for many Hours, until the *Mareſchal* himſelf arrived. So here the B--p (as we find by his Dedication to Mr. *Churchill* the Bookſeller) hath, for a long Time, ſent Warning of his Arrival, by Advertiſements in *Gazettes*; and now his *Introduction* advanceth to tell us again, *Monſeigneur vient*: In the mean time we muſt gape, and wait, and gaze, the Lord knows how long, and keep our Spirits in ſome reaſonable Agitation, until his Lordſhip's real ſelf ſhall think fit to appear in the Habit of a Folio.

I have ſeen the ſame ſort of Management at a Puppet-Show. Some Puppets of little or no Conſequence appeared ſeveral times at the Window to allure the Boys and the Rabble: The Trumpeter ſounded often, and the Door-keeper cried an hundred times, until he was hoarſe, that they were *juſt going to begin*; yet, after all, we were forced ſometimes to wait an Hour before *Punch* himſelf in Perſon made his Entry.

But why this Ceremony among old Acquaintance? The World and he have long known one another: Let him appoint his Hour, and make his Viſit, without troubling us all Day with a Succeſſion of Meſſages from his Lacquies and Pages.

With Submiſſion, theſe little Arts of getting off an Edition do ill become any Author above the Size of *Marten* the Surgeon. My L--d tells us, That *many thouſands of the two former Parts of his Hiſtory are in the Kingdom*; and now

now he perpetually *advertiſeth in the Gazette*, that he intends to publiſh the Third. This is exactly in the Method and Style of *Marten: The ſeventh Edition (many thouſands of the former Editions having been ſold off in a ſmall Time) of Mr.* Marten's *Book concerning ſecret Diſeaſes, &c.*

Doth his L——p intend to publiſh his great Volume by Subſcription, and is this Introduction only by way of *Specimen?* I was inclined to think ſo, becauſe, in the prefixed Letter to Mr. *Churchill*, which *introduces* this *Introduction*, there are ſome dubious Expreſſions: He ſays, *The Advertiſements he publiſhed were in order to move People to furniſh him with* Materials, *which might help him to finiſh his Work* with great *Advantage*. If he means Half a Guinea upon the Subſcription, and the other Half at the Delivery, why doth he not tell us ſo in plain Terms?

I am wondering how it came to paſs, that this diminutive Letter to Mr. *Churchill* ſhould underſtand the Buſineſs of *introducing* better than the *Introduction* itſelf; or why the B---p did not take it into his Head to ſend the former into the World ſome Months before the latter, which would have been yet a greater Improvement upon the Solemnity of the Proceſſion.

Since I writ theſe laſt Lines, I have peruſed the whole Pamphlet (which I had only dipt in before) and found I have been hunting upon a wrong Scent; for the Author hath, in

ſeveral

ſeveral Parts of his Piece, diſcovered the true Motives, which put him upon ſending it abroad at this Juncture; I ſhall therefore conſider them as they come in my Way.

My Lord begins his *Introduction* with an Account of the Reaſons, why he was guilty of ſo many Miſtakes in the firſt Volume of his *Hiſtory of the Reformation*: His Excuſes are juſt, rational, and extremely conſiſtent. He ſays, *He wrote in Haſte*, which he confirms by adding, *That it lay a Year after he wrote it, before it was put into the* Preſs. At the ſame Time he mentions a Paſſage extremely to the Honour of that pious and excellent Prelate, Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, which demonſtrates his Grace to have been a Perſon of great Sagacity, and almoſt a Prophet. Doctor *B----t*, then a private Divine, *deſired Admittance to the* Cotton *Library, but was prevented* * *by the Archbiſhop,*

* *It is ſomewhat remarkable to ſee the Progreſs of this Story. In the firſt Edition of this* Introduction, *it ſhould ſeem from hence that* "*he* "*was* PREVENTED *by the* ARCHBISHOP," *&c. When the* Introduction *was reprinted, a Year after, with the* Hiſtory, *it ſtands*: "A GREAT "PRELATE *had been before-hand, and poſſeſs'd* "*him* [*Sir* John Cotton] *againſt me.---He ſaid,* "*That unleſs the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury "*would recommend me---he deſired to be excuſed.* "*---The Biſhop of* Worceſter *could not prevail* "*on the Archbiſhop to* INTERPOSE." *This is only*

Archbiſhop, who told Sir John Cotton, *that the ſaid Doctor was no Friend to the Prerogative of the Crown, or to the Conſtitution of the Kingdom.* This Judgment was the more extraordinary, becauſe the Doctor had not long before publiſhed a Book in *Scotland*, with his Name prefixed, which carries the Regal Prerogative higher than any Writer of the Age: However, the good Archbiſhop lived to ſee his Opinion become univerſal in the Kingdom.

The

only negatively PREVENTING, *unleſs the Archbiſhop be meant by the* GREAT PRELATE. *Which is not very probable,* 1. *Becauſe in the Preface to this very* 3*d Volume, p.* 4. *he ſays,* "*It was by Archbiſhop* Sancroft's *Order he had* "*the free uſe of every thing that lay in the* "Lambeth *Library.*" 2. *Becauſe the Author of* Speculum Sariſburianum, p. 6. *tells us,* "*His* "*Acceſs to the Library was owing* SOLELY "*to the Recommendation of Archbiſhop* Sancroft, "*as I have been informed (ſays the Author)* "*by ſome of the Family.*" 3. *Becauſe Biſhop* Burnet, *in his* Hiſt. of his own Times, *Vol. I. p.* 396. *ſays it was* "DOLBEN, *Biſhop of* "Rocheſter, [*at the Inſtigation of the Duke of* "Lauderdale] *that diverted Sir* John Cotton "*from ſuffering him to ſearch his Library.*" *Perhaps then the Miſtake may be in Dr.* Swift's *Citation, in putting in the Word* Archbiſhop *inſtead of* Great Prelate, *by whom was meant* DOLBEN, *Biſhop of* Rocheſter.

The B---p goes on, for many Pages, with an Account of certain Facts relating to the publiſhing his two former Volumes of the *Reformation*; the great Succeſs of that Work, and the Adverſaries who appeared againſt it. Theſe are Matters out of the Way of my Reading; only I obſerve that poor Mr. *Henry Wharton*, who hath deſerved ſo well of the Commonwealth of Learning, and who gave himſelf the Trouble of detecting ſome hundred of the B---p's Miſtakes, meets with very ill Quarters from his L —— p. Upon which I cannot avoid mentioning a peculiar Method which this P —— e takes to revenge himſelf upon thoſe who preſume to differ from him in Print. The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* * happened, ſome Years ago, to be of this Number. My L —— d of *S——m*, in his Reply, ventured to tell the World, that the Gentleman, who had writ againſt him, meaning Dr. *Atterbury*, was one upon whom he had conferred great Obligations; which was a very generous Chriſtian Contrivance of charging his Adverſary with Ingratitude. But, it ſeems, the Truth happened to be on the other Side, which the Doctor made appear in ſuch a manner as would have ſilenced his Lordſhip for ever, if he had not been Writing-proof. Poor Mr. *Wharton*, in his Grave, is charged with the ſame Accuſation, but with Circumſtances the moſt aggravating that Malice, and ſomething elſe, could invent: and

* Dr. *Atterbury*.

which I will no more believe than five hundred Paſſages in a certain Book of Travels. See the Character he gives of a Divine, and a Scholar, who ſhortened his Life in the Service of GOD and the Church. *Mr.* Wharton *deſired me to intercede with* Tillotſon *for a Prebend of* Canterbury. *I did ſo, but* Wharton *would not believe it; ſaid, he would be revenged, and ſo writ againſt me. Soon after he was convinced I had ſpoke for him; ſaid he was ſet on to do what he did, and if I would procure any Thing for him, he would diſcover every Thing to me.* What a Spirit of Candour, Charity, and Good-nature, Generoſity, and Truth, ſhines through this Story, told of a moſt excellent and pious Divine, twenty Years after his Death, without one ſingle Voucher.

Come we now to the Reaſons which moved his Lordſhip to ſet about this Work at this Time. *He could delay it no longer, becauſe the Reaſons of his engaging in it at firſt ſeemed to return upon him.* He was then frightened with *the Danger of a Popiſh Succeſſor in View, and the dreadful Apprehenſions of the Power of* France. England *hath forgot theſe Dangers,* and yet is *nearer to them than ever,* and therefore he is reſolved to *awaken them* with his third Volume; but, in the mean Time, ſends this *Introduction* to let them know they are aſleep. He then goes on in deſcribing the Condition of the Kingdom after ſuch a manner, as if Deſtruction hung over us by a ſingle Hair;

Hair; as if the *Pope*, the *Devil*, the *Pretender*, and *France*, were juſt at our Doors.

When the B----p publiſhed his Hiſtory, there was a *Popiſh* Plot on Foot: The Duke of *York*, a known *Papiſt*, was preſumptive Heir to the Crown: The Houſe of Commons would not hear of any Expedients for ſecuring their Religion under a *Popiſh* Prince, nor would the King, or Lords, conſent to a Bill of Excluſion: The *French* King was in the Height of his Grandeur, and the Vigour of his Age. At this Day the preſumptive Heir, with that whole illuſtrious Family, are *Proteſtants*; the *Popiſh Pretender* excluded for ever by ſeveral Acts of Parliament; and every Perſon, in the ſmalleſt Employment, as well as the Members of both Houſes, obliged to *abjure* him. The *French* King is at the loweſt Ebb of Life; his Armies have been conquered, and his Towns won from him for ten Years together; and his Kingdom is in Danger of being torn by Diviſions during a long Minority. Are theſe Caſes parallel? Or are we now in more Danger of *France* and *Popery* than we were thirty Years ago? What can be the Motive for advancing ſuch falſe, ſuch deteſtable Aſſertions? What Concluſions would his Lordſhip draw from ſuch Premiſſes as theſe? If injurious Appellations were of any Advantage to a Cauſe (as the Style of our Adverſaries would make us believe) what Appellations would thoſe deſerve, who thus endeavour to ſow the Seeds of Sedition, and are impatient to ſee

the Fruits? *But*, ſaith he, *the deaf Adder ſtoppeth her Ears, let the Charmer charm never ſo wiſely.* True, my L——d, there are indeed too many *Adders* in this Nation's Boſom; *Adders* in all Shapes, and in all Habits, whom neither the QUEEN nor Parliament can charm to Loyalty, Truth, Religion, or Honour.

Among other Inſtances produced by him of the diſmal Condition we are in, he offers one which could not eaſily be gueſſed. It is this, *That the little factious Pamphlets, written about the End of King* Charles II's *Reign, lie dead in Shops, are looked on as waſte Paper, and turned to Paſteboard.* How many are there of his Lordſhip's writing, which could otherwiſe never have been of any real Service to the Publick? Hath he indeed ſo mean an Opinion of our Taſte, to ſend us at this time of Day into all the Corners of *Holborn*, *Duck-Lane*, and *Moorfields*, in queſt after the factious Traſh, publiſhed in thoſe Days by *Julian Johnſon*, *Hickeringil*, Dr. *Oates*, and himſelf?

His Lordſhip taking it for a *Poſtulatum*, that the QUEEN and Miniſtry, both Houſes of Parliament, and a vaſt Majority of the Landed Gentlemen throughout *England*, are running headlong into *Popery*, layeth hold on the Occaſion to deſcribe *the Cruelties in Queen* Mary's *Reign: An Inquiſition ſetting up Faggots in* Smithfield, *and Executions all over the Kingdom. Here is that*, ſays he, *which thoſe, that look towards a Popiſh Succeſſor, muſt look for.*

And

And he inſinuates through his whole Pamphlet, that all, who are not of his Party, *look towards a Popiſh Succeſſor.* Theſe he divides into two Parts, the *Tory* Laity, and the *Tory* Clergy. He tells the former: *Although they have no Religion at all, but reſolve to change with every Wind and Tide; yet they ought to have Compaſſion on their Countrymen and Kindred.* Then he applies himſelf to the *Tory* Clergy, aſſures them, that *the Fires revived in* Smithfield, *and all over the Nation, will have no amiable View; but leaſt of all to them, who, if they have any Principles at all, muſt be turned out of their Livings, leave their Families, be hunted from Place to Place into Parts beyond the Seas, and meet with that Contempt with which they treated Foreigners, who took Sanctuary among us.*

This requires a Recapitulation, with ſome Remarks. Firſt, I do affirm, that in every Hundred of profeſſed *Atheiſts*, *Deiſts*, and *Socinians* in the Kingdom, ninety-nine, at leaſt, are ſtaunch thorough-paced *Whigs*, entirely agreeing with his L----p in Politicks and Diſcipline; and therefore will venture all the Fires of Hell, rather than ſinge one Hair of their Beards in *Smithfield.* Secondly, I do likewiſe affirm, that thoſe whom we uſually underſtand by the Appellation of *Tory*, or High-church Clergy, were the greateſt Sticklers againſt the exorbitant Proceedings of King *James* the Second, the beſt Writers againſt *Popery*, and the moſt exemplary Sufferers for the Eſtabliſhed

Religion. Thirdly, I do pronounce it to be a moſt falſe and infamous Scandal upon the Nation in general, and on the Clergy in particular, to reproach them for *treating Foreigners with Haughtineſs and Contempt*. The *French Hugonots* are many thouſand Witneſſes to the contrary; and I wiſh they deſerved the thouſandth Part of the good Treatment they have received.

Laſtly, I obſerve that the Author of a Paper, called *The Engliſhman*, hath run into the ſame Cant, gravely adviſing the whole Body of the Clergy not to bring in *Popery*, becauſe that will put them under a Neceſſity of parting with their Wives, or loſing their Livings.

The Bulk of the Kingdom, both Clergy and Laity, happen to differ extremely from this P——e in many Principles, both of Politicks and Religion. Now I aſk, Whether, if any Man of them had ſigned their Name to a Syſtem of *Atheiſm*, or *Popery*, he could have argued with them otherwiſe than he doth? Or, if I ſhould write a grave Letter to his L————p with the ſame Advice, taking it for granted that he was half an *Atheiſt* and half a *Papiſt*, and conjuring him by all he held dear, to have Compaſſion upon all thoſe who believed a GOD, *not to* revive the Fires *in* Smithfield, *that he muſt either forfeit his Biſhoprick, or not marry a fourth Wife*; I aſk, Whether he would not think I intended him the higheſt Injury and Affront?

But

But as to the *Tory* Laity, he gives them up in a Lump for abandoned Atheiſts: They are a Set of Men ſo *impiouſly corrupted, in the Point of Religion, that no Scene of Cruelty can fright them from leaping into it* [Popery] *and perhaps acting ſuch a Part in it as may be aſſigned them.* He therefore deſpairs of influencing them by any Topicks drawn from Religion or Compaſſion, and advances the Conſideration of *Intereſt*, as the only powerful Argument to perſuade them againſt *Popery*.

What he offers upon this Head is ſo very amazing from a *Chriſtian*, a *Clergyman*, and a *Prelate* of the *Church* of *England*, that I muſt, in my own Imagination, ſtrip him of thoſe three Capacities, and put him among the Number of *that Set of Men* he mentions in the Paragraph before; or elſe it will be impoſſible to ſhape out an Anſwer.

His L-----p, in order to diſſuade the *Tories* from their Deſign of bringing in *Popery*, tells them, *How valuable a Part of the whole Soil of* England, *the Abby Lands, the Eſtates of the Biſhops, of the Cathedrals, and the Tythes are*: How difficult ſuch *a Reſumption would be to many Families*; *yet all theſe muſt be thrown up*; *for* Sacrilege, *in the Church of* Rome, *is a mortal Sin.* I deſire it may be obſerved, what a Jumble here is made of Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, as if they were all upon the ſame Foot, were alienated with equal Juſtice, and the Clergy had no more Reaſon to complain of one than

the other. Whereas the four Branches mentioned by him are of very different Consideration. If I might venture to guess the Opinion of the Clergy upon this Matter, I believe they could wish, that some small Part of the *Abby Lands* had been applied to the Augmentation of poor Bishopricks; and a very few Acres to serve for Glebes in those Parishes where there are none; after which, I think, they would not repine that the Laity should possess the rest. If the Estates of some Bishops and Cathedrals were exorbitant before the Reformation, I believe the present Clergy's Wishes reach no further, than that some reasonable Temper had been used, instead of paring them to the Quick. But as to the *Tythes*, without examining whether they be of divine Institution, I conceive there is hardly one of that sacred Order in *England*, and very few even among the *Laity*, who love the *Church*, who will not allow the misapplying those Revenues to secular Persons, to have been at first a most flagrant Piece of Injustice and Oppression; although, at the same time, GOD forbid they should be restored any other Way than by gradual Purchase, by the Consent of those who are now the lawful Possessors, or by the Piety and Generosity of such worthy Spirits as this Nation sometimes produceth. The B---p knows very well, that the Application of *Tythes* to the Maintenance of Monasteries, was a scandalous Usurpation, even in *Popish* Times. That the Monks usually sent out some of their Fraternity,

ternity, to ſupply the Cures; and that, when the Monaſteries were granted away by *Henry* VIII. the Pariſhes were left deſtitute, or very meanly provided, of any Maintenance for a Paſtor. So that, in many Places, the whole Eccleſiaſtical Dues, even to *Mortuaries*, *Eaſter Offerings*, and the like, are in Lay Hands, and the Incumbent lieth wholly at the Mercy of his Patron for his daily Bread. By theſe Means there are ſeveral hundred Pariſhes in *England* under Twenty Pounds a Year, and many under Ten. I take his L----p's Biſhoprick to be worth near 2500 *l.* annual Income; and I will engage, at half a Year's Warning, to find him above an hundred beneficed Clergymen, who have not ſo much among them all to ſupport themſelves and their Families: moſt of them orthodox, of good Life and Converſation; as loth to ſee the Fires kindled in *Smithfield* as his L----p; and, at leaſt, as ready to face them under a *Popiſh* Perſecution. But nothing is ſo hard for thoſe, who abound in Riches, as to conceive how others can be in Want. How can the neighbouring Vicar feel Cold or Hunger, while my L---d is ſeated by a good Fire, in the warmeſt Room in his Palace, with a Dozen Diſhes before him? I remember one other P--l--e much of the ſame Stamp, who when his Clergy would mention their Wiſhes, that ſome Act of Parliament might be thought of for the Good of the Church, would ſay: *Gentlemen, We are very well as we are*;

if

if they would let us alone, we ſhould aſk no more.

Sacrilege (ſays my L---d) *in the Church of* Rome, *is a mortal Sin:* And is it only ſo in the *Church* of *Rome?* Or, is it but a venial Sin in the Church of *England?* Our Litany calls *Fornication a deadly Sin*; and I would appeal to his Lordſhip, for fifty Years paſt, whether he thought that, or *Sacrilege*, the *deadlieſt?* To make light of ſuch a Sin, at the ſame Moment that he is frightening us from an idolatrous Religion, ſhould ſeem not very conſiſtent. *Thou that ſayeſt, A Man ſhould not commit Adultery, doſt thou commit Adultery? Thou that abhorreſt Idols, doſt thou commit Sacrilege?*

To ſmooth the Way for the Return of Popery in Queen *Mary*'s Time, the Grantees were confirmed by the *Pope* in the Poſſeſſion of the Abby Lands. But the Biſhop tells us, that *this Confirmation was fraudulent and invalid.* I ſhall believe it to be ſo, although I happen to read it in his L----p's Hiſtory. But he adds, *that although the Confirmation had been good, the Prieſts would have got their Land again by thoſe two Methods:* Firſt, *The Statute of* Mortmain *was repealed for twenty Years; in which Time, no doubt, they reckoned they would recover the beſt Part of what they had loſt; beſides that engaging the Clergy to renew no Leaſes, was a thing entirely in their own Power; and this, in forty Years Time, would raiſe their Revenues to be about ten times*

their

their preſent Value. Theſe two Expedients ſo increaſing the Revenues of the *Church*, he repreſents as pernicious Deſigns, fit only to be practiſed in Times of *Popery*, and ſuch as the *Laity* ought never to conſent to: From whence, and from what he ſaid before about Tythes, his L----p hath freely declared his Opinion, that the Clergy are rich enough, and that the leaſt Addition to their Subſiſtence would be a Step towards *Popery*. Now it happens, that the two only Methods which could only be thought on, with any Probability of Succeſs, towards ſome reaſonable Augmentation of Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, are here rejected by a B---p, as a Means for introducing *Popery*; and the Nation publickly warned againſt them: Whereas the Continuance of the Statute of *Mortmain* in full Force, after the Church had been ſo terribly ſtripped, appeared to Her Majeſty and the Kingdom a very unneceſſary Hardſhip; upon which Account it was at ſeveral Times *relaxed* by the Legiſlature. Now, as the Relaxation of that Statute is manifeſtly one of the Reaſons, which gives the B---p thoſe terrible Apprehenſions of *Popery* coming on us; ſo I conceive another Ground of his Fears, is the Remiſſion of the *Firſt-fruits* and *Tenths*. But where the Inclination to *Popery* lay, whether in Her Majeſty, who propoſed this Benefaction, the Parliament which confirmed, or the Clergy who accepted it, his L----p hath not thought fit to determine.

The

The other *Popiſh* Expedient for augmenting Church Revenues is, *engaging the Clergy to renew no Leaſes.* Several of the moſt eminent Clergymen have aſſured me, that nothing has been more wiſhed for by good Men, than a Law to prevent (at leaſt) Biſhops from letting Leaſes for Lives. I could name ten Biſhopricks in *England*, whoſe Revenues, one with another, do not amount to 600 Pounds a Year for each: And if his L---p's, for Inſtance, ſhould be above ten times the Value, when the Lives are expired, I ſhould think the Overplus would not be ill diſpoſed towards an Augmentation of ſuch as are now ſhamefully poor. But I do aſſert, that ſuch an Expedient was not always thought *Popiſh* and dangerous by this Right Reverend Hiſtorian. I have had the Honour formerly to converſe with him; and he hath told me, ſeveral Years ago, that he lamented extremely the Power which Biſhops had of letting Leaſes for Lives; whereby, as he ſaid, they were utterly deprived of raiſing their Revenues, whatever Alterations might happen in the Value of Money by Length of Time. I think the Reproach of betraying private Converſation will not, upon this Account, be laid to my Charge. Neither do I believe he would have changed his Opinion upon any ſcore, but to take up another more agreeable to the Maxims of his Party, *That the leaſt Addition of Property to the Church is one Step towards* Popery.

The

The B·····p goes on with much Earneſtneſs and Prolixity to prove, That the *Pope*'s Confirmation of the *Church Lands* to thoſe who held them by King *Henry*'s Donation, was null and fraudulent; which is a Point, that, I believe, no *Proteſtant* in *England* would give Three-pence to have his Choice, whether it ſhould be true or falſe: It might indeed ſerve as a Paſſage in his Hiſtory, among a thouſand other Inſtances, to detect the Knavery of the Court of *Rome*: But I aſk, Where could be the Uſe of it in this *Introduction?* Or why all this Haſte in publiſhing it at this Juncture; and ſo out of all Method, apart, and before the Work itſelf? He gives his Reaſons in very plain Terms: We are now, it ſeems, *in more Danger of* Popery, *than towards the End of King* Charles the Second's *Reign. That Set of Men* [the Tories] *is ſo impiouſly corrupted, in the point of Religion, that no Scene of Cruelty can frighten them from leaping into it, and perhaps from acting ſuch a Part in it as may be aſſigned them.* He doubts whether the High-church Clergy have any Principles; and therefore will be ready to turn off their Wives, and look on the Fires kindled in *Smithfield* as an *amiable View.* Theſe are the Facts he all along takes for granted, and argues accordingly. Therefore in Deſpair of diſſuading the Nobility and Gentry of the Land from introducing *Popery* by any Motives of Honour, Religion, Alliance, or Mercy, he aſſures them, *That the* Pope *hath not duly confirmed their Titles to the Church Lands in their*

Poſſeſſion; which therefore muſt be infallibly reſtored, as ſoon as that Religion is eſtabliſhed among us.

Thus, in his L———'s Opinion, there is nothing wanting to make the Majority of the Kingdom, both for Number, Quality, and Poſſeſſion, immediately embrace *Popery*, except a *firm Bull from the Pope*, to ſecure the Abby and other Church Lands and Tythes to the preſent Proprietors and their Heirs: If this only Difficulty could now be adjuſted, the *Pretender* would be reſtored next Seſſion, the two Houſes reconciled to the Church of *Rome* againſt *Eaſter* Term, and the Fires lighted in *Smithfield* by *Midſummer*. Such horrible Calumnies againſt a Nation are not the leſs injurious to Decency, Good-nature, Truth, Honour, and Religion, becauſe they may be vented with Safety. And I will appeal to any Reader of common Underſtanding, whether this be not the moſt natural and neceſſary Deduction from the Paſſages I have cited and referred to.

Yet all this is but friendly Dealing, in Compariſon with what he affords the Clergy upon the ſame Article. He ſuppoſes that whole Reverend Body, who differ from him in Principles of *Church* or *State*, are ſo far from diſliking *Popery*, upon the above-mentioned Motives of *Perjury*, *quitting their Wives*, *or burning their Relations*; that the Hopes of *enjoying the Abby Lands* would ſoon bear down all ſuch Conſiderations, and be an effectual Incitement

to

to their Perverſion: And ſo he goes gravely on, as with the only Argument, which he thinks can have any Force, to aſſure them, that the *Parochial Prieſts, in* Roman Catholick *Countries, are much poorer than in ours; the ſeveral Orders of Regulars, and the Magnificence of their Church, devouring all their Treaſure*; and, by Conſequence, *their Hopes are vain, of expecting to be richer after the Introduction of* Popery.

But, after all, his L——p deſpairs, that even this Argument will have any Force with our abominable Clergy, becauſe, to uſe his own Words, *They are an inſenſible and degenerate Race, who are thinking of nothing but their preſent Advantages; and, ſo that they may now ſupport a luxurious and brutal Courſe of irregular and voluptuous Practices, they are eaſily hired to betray their Religion, to ſell their Country, and give up that Liberty and thoſe Properties, which are the preſent Felicities and Glories of this Nation.*

He ſeems to reckon all theſe Evils as Matters fully determined on, and therefore falls into the laſt uſual Form of Deſpair, by threatening the Authors of theſe Miſeries with *laſting Infamy, and the Curſes of Poſterity upon perfidious Betrayers of their Truſt.*

Let me turn this Paragraph into vulgar Language *for the Uſe of the Poor*; and ſtrictly adhere to the Senſe of the Words. I believe it may be faithfully tranſlated in the following Manner: *The Bulk of the Clergy, and one Third*

of the Biſhops, are ſtupid Sons of Whores, who think of nothing but getting Money as ſoon as they can: If they may but procure enough to ſupply them in Gluttony, Drunkenneſs, and Whoring, they are ready to turn Traitors to GOD *and their Country, and make their Fellow-ſubjects Slaves.* The reſt of the Period, about threatening Infamy and the Curſes of Poſterity upon ſuch Dogs and Villains, may ſtand as it doth in the B———p's own Phraſe; and ſo make the Paragraph all of a Piece.

I will engage, on the other Side, to paraphraſe all the *Rogues* and *Raſcals* in *The Engliſhman*, ſo as to bring them up exactly to his L——p's Style: But, for my own Part, I muſt prefer the plain *Billingſgate* Way of calling Names, becauſe it expreſſeth our Meaning full as well, and would ſave abundance of Time which is loſt by Circumlocution: So, for Inſtance, *John Dunton*, who is retained on the ſame Side with the B——p, calls my *Lord Treaſurer* and Lord *Bolingbroke*, Traitors, Whoremongers, and Jacobites; which three Words coſt our Right Reverend Author thrice as many Lines to define them; and I hope his L———p doth not think there is any Difference, in point of Morality, whether a Man calls me *Traitor* in one Word, or ſays I am one *hired to betray my Religion and ſell my Country*.

I am not ſurprized to ſee the B---p mention with Contempt all Convocations of the Clergy; for *Toland*, *Aſgil*, *Monmouth*, *Collins*, *Tindal*, and

and others of the Fraternity, talk the very ſame Language. His L---p confeſſeth he is *not* inclined *to expect much from the Aſſemblies of Clergymen.* There lies the Misfortune; for if he, and ſome more of his Order, would correct their *Inclinations*, a great deal of Good might be expected from ſuch Aſſemblies; as much as they are now cramped by that Submiſſion, which a corrupt Clergy brought upon their innocent Succeſſors. *He will not deny that his Copiouſneſs in theſe Matters is, in his own Opinion, one of the meaneſt Parts of his new Work.* I will agree with him, unleſs he happens to be more *copious* in any Thing elſe. However, it is not eaſy to conceive, why he ſhould be ſo *copious* upon a Subject he ſo much deſpiſeth, unleſs it were to gratify his Talent of railing at the *Clergy*, in the Number of whom he diſdains to to be reckoned, becauſe he is a *B---p*; for it is a Style I obſerve ſome Prelates have fallen into of late Years, to talk of Clergymen, as if themſeves were not of the Number. You will read in many of their Speeches at Dr. *Sacheverel*'s Trial, Expreſſions to this, or the like Effect: *My Lords, if Clergymen be ſuffer'd, &c.* wherein they ſeem to have Reaſon; and I am pretty confident, that a great Majortiy of the Clergy were heartily inclined to diſown any Relation they had to the *Managers in Lawn.* However, it was a confounding Argument againſt *Preſbytery*, to ſee thoſe Prelates, who are moſt ſuſpected to lean that Way, treating their inferior Brethren

with *Haughtineſs*, *Rigour*, and *Contempt*; although, to ſay the Truth, nothing better could be hoped for; becauſe, I believe, it may paſs for an univerſal Rule, that in every Dioceſe governed by Biſhops of the *Whig* Species, the Clergy (eſpecially the poorer ſort) are under double Diſcipline; and the *Laity* left to themſelves. The Opinion of Sir *Thomas Moore*, which he produceth to prove the ill Conſequences or Inſignificancy of Convocations, advanceth no ſuch Thing; but ſays, *If the Clergy aſſembled often, and might act as other Aſſemblies of Clergy in* Chriſtendom, *much Good might have come*; but the Misfortune lay *in their long Diſuſe, and that, in his own, and a good Part of his Father's Time, they never came together, except at the Command of the Prince.*

I ſuppoſe his L———p thinks, there is ſome original Impediment in the Study of Divinity, or ſecret Incapacity in a Gown and Caſſock *without Lawn*, which diſqualifies all inferior Clergymen from debating upon Subjects of Doctrine or Diſcipline in the Church. It is a famous Saying of his, *That he looks upon every Layman to be an honeſt Man, until he is, by Experience, convinced to the contrary; and on every Clergyman as a Knave, until he finds him to be an honeſt Man.* What Opinion then muſt we have of a Lower Houſe of Convocation; where, I am confident, he will hardly find three Perſons that ever convinced him of their Honeſty, or will ever be

be at the Pains to do it? Nay, I am afraid they would think ſuch a Conviction might be no very advantageous Bargain, to gain the Character of an honeſt Man with his L--p, and loſe it with the reſt of the World.

In the famous *Concordate* that was made between *Francis* I. of *France*, and Pope *Leo* X. the B--p tells us, that *the King and Pope came to a Bargain, by which they divided the Liberties of the* Gallican *Church between them, and indeed quite enſlaved it.* He intends, in the third Part of his Hiſtory, which he is going to publiſh, *to open this whole Matter to the World.* In the mean time he mentions ſome ill Conſequences to the *Gallican* Church from that *Concordate*, which are worthy to be obſerved: *The Church of* France *became a Slave; and this Change in their Conſtitution put an End not only to National, but even to Provincial Synods in that Kingdom. The Aſſemblies of the Clergy there meet now only to give Subſidies, &c.* and he ſays, *our Nation may ſee by that Proceeding, what it is to deliver up the eſſential Liberties of a free Conſtitution to a Court.*

All I can gather from this Matter is, that our King *Henry* made a better Bargain than his Contemporary *Francis*, who divided the Liberties of the Church between himſelf and the Pope, while the King of *England* ſeized them all to himſelf. But how comes he to number the Want of Synods in the *Gallican* Church among the Grievances of that *Concordate*, and as a Mark of their Slavery, ſince he reckons

reckons all Convocations of the Clergy in *England* to be uſeleſs and dangerous? Or what Difference, in point of Liberty, was there between the *Gallican* Church under *Francis*, and the *Engliſh* under *Harry?* For the latter was as much a *Papiſt* as the former, unleſs in the point of Obedience to the See of *Rome*, and, in every Quality of a good Man, or a good Prince, (except Perſonal Courage, wherein both were equal) the *French* Monarch had the Advantage by as many Degrees as is poſſible for one Man to have over another.

Henry VIII. had no manner of Intention to change Religion in his Kingdom; he continued to perſecute and burn *Proteſtants* after he had caſt off the *Pope*'s Supremacy: And, I ſuppoſe, his Seizure of Eccleſiaſtical Revenues (which *Francis* never attempted) cannot be reckon'd as a Mark of the Church's *Liberty*. By the Quotation the B--p ſets down, to ſhew the Slavery of the *French* Church, he repreſents it as a Grievance, that *Biſhops are not now elected there as formerly, but wholly appointed by the Prince; and that thoſe made by the Court have been ordinarily the chief Advancers of Schiſms, Hereſies, and Oppreſſions of the Church.* He cites another Paſſage from a *Greek* Writer, and plainly inſinuates, that it is juſtly applicable to her Majeſty's Reign: *Princes chuſe ſuch Men to that Charge* [of a Biſhop] *who may be their Slaves, and in all Things obſequious to what they preſcribe, and may lie at their Feet, and*

have

have not ſo much as a Thought contrary to their Commands.

Theſe are very ſingular Paſſages for his L--p to ſet down, in order to ſhew the diſmal Conſequences of the *French Concordate*, by the Slavery of the *Gallican* Church, compared with the Freedom of ours. I ſhall not enter into a long Diſpute, whether it were better for Religion, that Biſhops ſhould be choſen by the Clergy, or People, or both together: I believe our Author would give his Vote for the ſecond (which, however, would not have been of much Advantage to himſelf, and ſome others that I could name;) but I aſk, Whether Biſhops are any more elected in *England* than in *France?* And the Want of Synods are, in his own Opinion, rather a Bleſſing than a Grievance, unleſs he will affirm, that more Good can be expected from a *Popiſh* Synod than an *Engliſh Convocation*. Did the *French* Clergy ever receive a greater Blow to their Liberties than the Submiſſion made to *Henry* the Eighth; or ſo great a one as the Seizure of their Lands? The Reformation owed nothing to the good Intentions of King *Henry*: He was only an Inſtrument of it (as the Logicians ſpeak) by Accident; nor doth he appear, throughout his whole Reign, to have had any other Views than thoſe of gratifying his inſatiable Love of Power, Cruelty, Oppreſſion, and other irregular Appetites. But this Kingdom, as well as many other Parts of *Europe*, was, at that Time, generally weary of the Corruptions and Impoſitions of the *Roman* Court

Court and Church; and diſpoſed to receive thoſe Doctrines which *Luther* and his Followers had univerſally ſpread. *Cranmer*, the Archbiſhop, *Cromwell*, and others of the Court, did ſecretly embrace the Reformation; and the King's abrogating the *Pope's* Supremacy, made the People in general run into the new Doctrine with greater Freedom, becauſe they hoped to be ſupported in it by the *Authority* and *Example* of their *Prince*; who diſappointed them ſo far, that he made no other Step, than rejecting the *Pope's* Supremacy, as a Clog upon his own Power and Paſſions; but retained every Corruption beſides, and became a cruel Perſecutor, as well of thoſe who denied his own Supremacy, as of all others who profeſſed any *Proteſtant* Doctrine. Neither hath any thing diſguſted me more, in reading the Hiſtories of thoſe Times, than to ſee one of the worſt Princes of any Age or Country, celebrated as an Inſtrument in that glorious Work of the Reformation.

The B--p, having gone over all the Matters that properly fall within his *Introduction*, proceeds to expoſtulate with ſeveral ſorts of People: Firſt, with *Proteſtants*, who are no *Chriſtians*, ſuch as *Atheiſts*, *Deiſts*, *Free-thinkers*, and the like Enemies to Chriſtianity: But theſe he treats with the Tenderneſs of a Friend, becauſe they are, all of them, of ſound *Whig* Principles in Church and State. However, to do him Juſtice, he lightly toucheth ſome old Topicks for the Truth of the Goſpel; and concludes, by *wiſhing that the* Free-thinkers

would

would conſider well, if (Anglice, whether) *they think it is poſſible to bring a Nation to be without any Religion at all; and what the Conſequences of that may prove*; and, in caſe they allow the Negative, he gives it clearly for Chriſtianity.

Secondly, He applieth himſelf (if I take his Meaning right) to Chriſtian Papiſts, *who have a Taſte of Liberty*; and deſires them to *compare the Abſurdity of their own Religion with the Reaſonableneſs of the Reformed*: Againſt which, as good Luck would have it, I have nothing to object.

Thirdly, He is ſomewhat rough againſt his own Party, *who, having taſted the Sweets of* Proteſtant *Liberty, can look back ſo tamely on* Popery *coming on them*; it looks as if they were bewitched, or that the Devil were in them, to be ſo negligent. *It is not enough that they reſolve not to turn Papiſts themſelves; they ought to awaken all about them, even the moſt ignorant and ſtupid, to apprehend their Danger, and to exert themſelves with their utmoſt Induſtry to guard againſt it, and to reſiſt it. If, after all their Endeavours to prevent it, the Corruption of the Age, and the Art and Power of our Enemies, prove too hard for us; then, and not until then, we muſt ſubmit to the Will of* GOD, *and be ſilent; and prepare ourſelves for all the Extremities of Suffering and of Miſery*, with a great deal more of the ſame Strain.

With due Submiſſion to the profound Sagacity of this P-t-e, who can ſmell *Popery* at five hundred Miles Diſtance, better than *Fanaticiſm*

juſt

juſt under his Noſe, I take leave to tell him, that this Reproof to his Friends, for want of Zeal and Clamour againſt *Popery*, *Slavery*, and the *Pretender*, is what they have not deſerved. Are the Pamphlets and Papers daily publiſhed by the ſublime Authors of his Party, full of any thing elſe? Are not the QUEEN, the Miniſters, the Majority of Lords and Commons, loudly taxed in Print with this Charge againſt them at full Length? Is it not the perpetual Echo of every *Whig* Coffee-houſe and Club? Have they not quartered *Popery* and the *Pretender* upon the Peace, and Treaty of Commerce; upon the poſſeſſing, and quitting, and keeping, and demoliſhing of *Dunkirk?* Have they not clamoured, becauſe the *Pretender* continued in *France*, and becauſe he left it? Have they not reported, that the Town ſwarmed with many thouſand *Papiſts*; when, upon Search, there were never found ſo few of that Religion in it before? If a Clergyman preacheth Obedience to the higher Powers, is he not immediately traduced as a *Papiſt?* Can mortal Man do more? To deal plainly, my L--d, your Friends are not ſtrong enough *yet* to make an Inſurrection, and it is unreaſonable to expect one from them, until their Neighbours be ready.

My L--d, I have a little Serioufneſs at Heart upon this *Point*, where your Lordſhip *affects* to ſhew ſo *much*. When you can prove, that one ſingle Word hath ever dropt from any Miniſter of State, in *publick* or *private*, in favour of the

Pretender, or his Cauſe; when you can make it appear, that in the Courſe of this Adminiſtration, ſince the QUEEN thought fit to change her Servants, there hath one Step been made towards weakening the *Hanover* Title, or giving the leaſt Countenance to any other whatſoever; then, and not till then, go dry your *Chaff* and *Stubble*, give Fire to the Zeal of your Faction, and reproach them with Lukewarmneſs.

Fourthly, The B--p applies himſelf to the *Tories* in general; taking it for granted, after his charitable manner, that they are all ready prepared to introduce *Popery*. He puts an Excuſe into their Mouths, by which they would endeavour to juſtify their Change of Religion: *Popery is not what it was before the Reformation: Things are now much mended, and further Corrections might be expected, if we would enter into a Treaty with them: In particular, they ſee the Error of proceeding ſeverely with Hereticks; ſo that there is no Reaſon to apprehend the Returns of ſuch Cruelties as were practiſed an Age and a half ago.*

This, he aſſures us, is a Plea offered by the *Tories*, in Defence of themſelves, for going about, at this Juncture, to eſtabliſh the *Popiſh* Religion among us: What Argument doth he bring to prove the Fact itſelf?

Quibus indiciis, quo teſte, probavit?
Nil horum: Verboſa & grandis epiſtola venit.

Nothing but this tedious *Introduction*, wherein he ſuppoſeth it all along as a Thing granted. That there might be a perfect Union in the whole Chriſtian Church, is a Bleſſing which every good Man wiſheth, but no reaſonable Man can hope. That the more polite Roman Catholicks have, in ſeveral Places, given up ſome of their ſuperſtitious Fopperies, particularly concerning *Legends*, *Relicks*, and the like, is what no body denies. But the material Points in Difference between us and them, are univerſally retained and aſſerted in all their controverſial Writings. And if his L — p really thinks, that every Man, who differs from him, under the Name of a *Tory*, in ſome Church and State Opinions, is ready to believe *Tranſubſtantiation*, *Purgatory*, the *Infallibility* of Pope or Councils, to *worſhip Saints* and *Angels*, and the like; I can only pray GOD to enlighten his Underſtanding, or graft in his Heart the firſt Principles of Charity; a Virtue which ſome *People* ought not by any means wholly to renounce, *becauſe it covereth a multitude of Sins*.

Fifthly, The B--p applies himſelf to his own Party in both Houſes of Parliament, whom he exhorts to *guard their Religion and Liberty againſt all Danger, at what Diſtance ſoever it may appear. If they are abſent and remiſs on critical Occaſions*; that is to ſay, if they do not attend cloſe next Seſſions, to vote upon all Occaſions whatſoever againſt the Proceedings of the QUEEN and her Miniſtry, *or if any Views*

of

of Advantage to themſelves prevail on them: In other Words, if any of them vote for the Bill of Commerce, in hopes of a Place, or a Penſion, a Title, or a Garter; GOD *may work a Deliverance for us another Way*; that is to ſay, by inviting the DUTCH: *But they and their Families, i. e.* thoſe who are negligent, or Revolters, *ſhall periſh*; by which is meant, they ſhall be hanged, as well as the preſent Miniſtry, and their Abettors, as ſoon as we recover our Power; *becauſe they let in Idolatry, Superſtition, and Tyranny*; becauſe they ſtood by, and ſuffered the Peace to be made, the Bill of Commerce to paſs, and *Dunkirk* lie undemoliſhed longer than we expected, without raiſing a Rebellion.

His laſt Application is to the *Tory* Clergy, a Parcel of *blind, ignorant, dumb, ſleeping, greedy, drunken Dogs.* A pretty artful Epiſcopal Method is this, of calling his Brethren as many injurious Names as he pleaſeth. It is but quoting a Text of Scripture, where the Characters of evil Men are deſcribed, and the thing is done; and, at the ſame Time, the Appearances of Piety and Devotion preſerved. I would engage, with the Help of a good *Concordance*, and the Liberty of perverting Holy Writ, to find out as many injurious Appellations as *The Engliſhman* throws out in any of his politick Papers, and apply them to thoſe Perſons, *who call Good, Evil; and Evil, Good*; to thoſe who cry without Cauſe, *Every Man to*

his Tent, O Iſrael! *and to thoſe who curſe the* QUEEN *in their Hearts!*

Theſe decent Words, he tells us, make up a *lively Deſcription of ſuch Paſtors as will not ſtudy Controverſy, nor know the Depths of Satan.* He means, I ſuppoſe, the Controverſy between us and the *Papiſts*; for, as to the *Free-thinkers* and *Diſſenters* of every Denomination, they are ſome of the beſt Friends to the Cauſe. Now, I have been told, there is a Body of that kind of Controverſy publiſhed by the *London* Divines, which is not to be matched in the World. I believe likewiſe, there is a good Number of the Clergy at preſent thoroughly verſed in that Study; after which I cannot but give my Judgment, that it would be a very idle thing for Paſtors in general to buſy themſelves much in Diſputes againſt *Popery*: It being a dry heavy Employment of the Mind at beſt, eſpecially when, GOD be thanked, there is ſo little Occaſion for it in the Generality of Pariſhes throughout the Kingdom, and muſt be daily leſs and leſs by the juſt Severity of the Laws, and the utter Averſion of our People from that idolatrous Superſtition.

If I might be ſo bold to name thoſe who have the Honour to be of his L——p's Party, I would venture to tell him, That *Paſtors* have much more Occaſion to ſtudy *Controverſies* againſt the ſeveral Claſſes of *Free-thinkers* and *Diſſenters*: The former (I beg his L——p's Pardon for ſaying ſo) being a little worſe than *Papiſts*, and both of them more dangerous *at preſent*

preſent to our Conſtitution both in Church and State. Not that I think *Preſbytery* ſo corrupt a Syſtem of Chriſtian Religion as *Popery*; I believe it is not above one Third as bad: But I think the *Preſbyterians*, and their Clans of other *Fanaticks*, of *Free-thinkers* and *Athciſts*, that dangle after them, are as well inclined to pull down the preſent Eſtabliſhment of Monarchy and Religion, as any Set of *Papiſts* in Chriſtendom; and therefore that our Danger, as Things now ſtand, is infinitely greater from our *Proteſtant* Enemies; becauſe they are much more able to ruin us, and full as willing. There is no doubt, but Preſbytery and a Commonwealth are leſs formidable Evils than *Popery*, *Slavery*, and the *Pretender*; for, if the *Fanaticks* were in Power, I ſhould be in more Apprehenſion of being ſtarved than burned. But there are probably in *England* forty *Diſſenters* of all kinds, including their Brethren the *Free-thinkers*, for one *Papiſt*; and, allowing one *Papiſt* to be as *terrible* as three *Diſſenters*, it will appear by Arithmetick that we are thirteen Times and one Third more in Danger of being ruined by the latter than the former.

The other Qualifications neceſſary for all Paſtors, if they will not be *blind*, *ignorant*, *greedy*, *drunken Dogs*, &c. is, *to know the Depths of Satan*. This is harder than the former; that a poor Gentleman ought not to be Parſon, Vicar, or Curate of a Pariſh, except he be cunninger than the Devil. I am afraid it will be difficult to remedy this Defect, for one mani-

ſeſt Reaſon, becauſe whoever had only half the Cunning of the Devil, would never take up with a Vicarage of ten Pounds a Year, *to live on at his Eaſe*, as my L——d expreſſeth it; but ſeek out for ſome better Livelihood. His Lordſhip is of a Nation very much diſtinguiſhed for that Quality of *Cunning* (although they have a great many better) and I think he was never accuſed for wanting his Share. However, upon a Trial of Skill, I would venture to lay ſix to four on the *Devil*'s Side, who muſt be allowed to be at leaſt the older *Practitioner*. *Telling Truth* ſhames him, and *Reſiſtance* makes him fly; but to attempt outwitting him, is to fight him at his own Weapon, and conſequently no Cunning at all. Another Thing I would obſerve is, that a Man may be *in the Depths of Satan*, without knowing them all; and ſuch a Man may be ſo far in *Satan's Depths*, as to be out of his own. One of the *Depths of Satan* is to *counterfeit an Angel of Light*. Another, I believe, is to ſtir up the People againſt their Governors by falſe Suggeſtions of Danger. A third, is to be a *Prompter to falſe Brethren*, and to ſend *Wolves* about in *Sheep's Cloathing*. Sometimes he ſends *Jeſuits* about *England*, in the Habit and Cant of *Fanaticks*; at other times he hath *Fanatick* Miſſionaries in the Habits of———. I ſhall mention but one more of *Satan's Depths*; for I confeſs I know not the hundredth Part of them; and that is, to employ his Emiſſaries in crying out againſt remote imaginary Dangers, by which we may be taken off

off from defending ourſelves againſt thoſe which are really juſt at our Elbows.

But his Lordſhip draws towards a Concluſion, and bids us *look about, to conſider the Danger we are in, before it is too late*; for he aſſures us, we are already *going into ſome of the worſt Parts of Popery*; like the Man, who was ſo much in Haſte for his new Coat, that he put it on the wrong Side out. *Auricular Confeſſion, Prieſtly Abſolution, and the Sacrifice of the Maſs*, have made great Progreſs in *England*, and no body hath obſerved it: Several other *Popiſh* Points *are carried higher with us, than by the Prieſts themſelves*: And ſomebody, it ſeems, had the *Impudence to propoſe an Union with the* Gallican *Church*. I have indeed heard, that Mr. *Leſly* publiſhed a Diſcourſe to that purpoſe, which I have never ſeen; nor do I perceive the Evil in *propoſing an Union* between any two Churches in *Chriſtendom*. Without doubt Mr. *Leſly* is moſt unhappily miſled in his Politicks; but if he be the Author of the late Tract againſt *Popery*, he hath given the World ſuch a Proof of his Soundneſs in Religion, as *many a Biſhop* ought to be proud of. I never ſaw the Gentleman in my Life: I know he is the Son of a great and excellent Prelate, who, upon ſeveral Accounts, was one of the moſt extraordinary Men of his Age. Mr. *Leſly* hath written many uſeful Diſcourſes upon ſeveral Subjects, and hath ſo well deſerved of the Chriſtian Religion, and the Church of *England* in particular, that, to accuſe him of *Impudence*,

for

for propoſing an Union in two very different Faiths, is a Style which, I hope, few will imitate. I deteſt Mr. *Leſly*'s political Principles as his much as L---p can do for his Heart; but I verily believe he acts from a miſtaken Conſcience, and therefore I diſtinguiſh between the Principles and the Perſon. However, it is ſome Mortification to me, when I ſee an *avowed Nonjuror* contribute more to the confounding of *Popery*, than could ever be done by a hundred thouſand ſuch *Introductions* as this.

His L——p ends with diſcovering a ſmall Ray of Comfort. *God be thanked there are many among us that ſtand upon the Watch Tower, and that give faithful Warning; that ſtand in the Breach, and make themſelves a Wall for their Church and Country; that cry to* GOD *Day and Night, and lie in the Duſt mourning before him, to avert thoſe Judgments that ſeem to haſten towards us. They ſearch into the Myſtery of Iniquity that is working among us, and acquaint themſelves with that Maſs of Corruption that is in Popery.* He práys, *That the Number of thoſe may encreaſe, and that* he *may be of that Number, ready either to die in Peace, or to ſeal that Doctrine* he *hath been preaching above fifty Years, with his Blood.* This being his laſt Paragraph, I have made bold to tranſcribe the moſt important Parts of it. His Deſign is to end, after the manner of Orators, with leaving the ſtrongeſt Impreſſion poſſible upon the Minds of his Hearers. A great *Breach* is made, *the Myſtery*

ſtery of Popiſh Iniquity is working among us; may GOD avert thoſe *Judgments that are haſtening towards us*; I am an old Man, *a Preacher above fifty Years*, and I now expect, and am ready to die a Martyr for the Doctrines I have preached. What an amiable Idea doth he here leave upon our Minds, of Her Majeſty, and her Government! He hath been poring ſo long upon *Fox*'s Book of Martyrs, that he imagines himſelf living in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, and is reſolved to ſet up for a *Knight Errant* againſt *Popery*. Upon the Suppoſition of his being in earneſt (which I am ſure he is not) it would require but a very little more Heat of Imagination, to make a Hiſtory of ſuch a Knight's Adventures. What would he ſay, to behold the *Fires kindled in* Smithfield, *and all over the Town*, on the ſeventeenth of *November*; to behold the *Pope* borne in Triumph on the Shoulders of the People, with a *Cardinal on the one Side, and the Pretender on the other?* He would never believe it was Queen *Elizabeth*'s Day, but that of her perſecuting Siſter: In ſhort, how eaſily might a *Windmill be taken for* the Whore *of* Babylon, and a *Puppet-Show* for a Popiſh Proceſſion?

But *Enthuſiaſm* is none of his L ——— p's Faculty: I am inclined to believe he might be melancholy enough when he writ this *Introduction*: The Deſpair at his Age of ſeeing a Faction reſtored, to which he hath ſacrificed ſo great a Part of his Life: The little Succeſs he

he can hope for, in caſe he ſhould reſume thoſe High-Church Principles, in Defence of which he firſt employed his Pen: No viſible Expectation of removing to *Farnham* or *Lambeth*: And laſtly, the Misfortune of being hated by every one, who either wears the Habit, or values the Profeſſion of a Clergyman. No Wonder ſuch a Spirit, in ſuch a Situation, is provoked beyond the Regards of Truth, Decency, Religion, or Self-conviction. To do him Juſtice, he ſeems to have nothing elſe left, but to cry out *Halters*, *Gibbets*, *Faggots*, *Inquiſition*, *Popery*, *Slavery*, and the *Pretender*. But, in the mean Time, he little conſiders what a World of Miſchief he doth to his Cauſe. It is very convenient, for the preſent Deſigns of that Faction, to ſpread the Opinion of our immediate Danger from *Popery* and the *Pretender*. His Directors therefore ought, in my humble Opinion, to have employed his L————p in publiſhing a Book, wherein he ſhould have affirmed, by the moſt ſolemn Aſſeverations, that all things were ſafe and well; for the World hath contracted ſo ſtrong a Habit of believing him backwards, that, I am confident, nine Parts in ten of thoſe who have read, or heard of his *Introduction*, have ſlept in greater Security ever ſince. It is like the melancholy Tone of a Watchman at Midnight, who thumps with his Pole, as if ſome Thief were breaking in; but you know by the Noiſe, that the Door is faſt.

How-

However, he *thanks* GOD, *there are many among us who ſtand in the Breach*: I believe they may; it is a *Breach* of their own making, and they deſign to come forward, and ſtorm and plunder, if they be not driven back. *They make themſelves a Wall for their Church and Country*. A *South* Wall, I ſuppoſe, for all the beſt Fruit of the *Church and Country* to be nailed on. Let us examine this Metaphor. The *Wall of our Church and Country* is built of thoſe who love the Conſtitution in both: Our domeſtick Enemies undermine ſome Parts of the *Wall*, and place themſelves in the *Breach*, and then they cry, *We are the Wall*. We do not like ſuch Patch-Work; they build with untemper'd Mortar; nor can they ever cement with us, till they get better Materials and better Workmen. GOD keep us from having our *Breaches* made up with ſuch Rubbiſh. *They ſtand upon the Watch-tower!* They are indeed pragmatical enough to do ſo; but who aſſigned them that Poſt, to give us falſe Intelligence, to alarm us with falſe Dangers, and ſend us to defend one Gate, while their Accomplices are breaking in at another? *They cry to* GOD *Day and Night, to avert the Judgment of Popery, which ſeems to haſten towards us*. Then I affirm, they are *Hypocrites by Day, and filthy Dreamers by Night: When they cry unto him, he will not hear them*; for they cry againſt the plaineſt Dictates of their own Conſcience, Reaſon, and Belief.

But,

But, laſtly, *they lie in the Duſt mourning before him.* Hang me, if I believe that, unleſs it be figuratively ſpoken. But ſuppoſe it to be true: Why do *they lie in the Duſt?* Becauſe they love to *raiſe* it: For what do *they mourn?* Why, for Power, Wealth, and Places. There let the Enemies of the QUEEN and Monarchy, and the Church, *lie* and *mourn*, and *lick the Duſt* like *Strpents*, till they are truly ſenſible of their Ingratitude, Falſhood, Diſobedience, Slander, Blaſphemy, Sedition, and *every evil Work.*

I cannot find in my Heart to conclude without offering his L———p a little humble Advice upon ſome certain Points.

Firſt, I would adviſe him, if it be not too late in his Life, to endeavour a little at mending his Style, which is mighty defective in the *Circumſtances* of Grammar, Propriety, Politeneſs, and Smoothneſs. I fancied at firſt it might be owing to the Prevalence of his Paſſion, as People ſputter out Nonſenſe for Haſte, when they are in a Rage. And indeed I believe this Piece before me hath received ſome additional Imperfections from that Occaſion. But whoever hath heard his Sermons, or read his other Tracts, will find him very unhappy in the Choice and Diſpoſition of his Words, and, for want of Variety, repeating them, eſpecially the Particles, in a manner very grating to an *Engliſh* Ear. But I confine myſelf to this *Introduction*, as his laſt Work, where,

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endeavouring at Rhetorical *Flowers*, he gives us only Bunches of *Thiſtles*; of which I could preſent the Reader with a plentiful Crop; but I refer him to every Page and Line of the Pamphlet itſelf.

Secondly, I would moſt humbly adviſe his Lordſhip to examine a little into the Nature of Truth, and ſometimes to hear what *ſhe* ſays. I ſhall produce two Inſtances among an hundred. When he aſſerts, That we are *now in more Danger of* Popery *than towards the End of King* Charles *the Second's Reign*; and gives the broadeſt Hints that the QUEEN, the Miniſtry, the Parliament, and the Clergy, are juſt going to introduce it; I deſire to know, whether he really thinks *Truth* is of his Side, or whether he be not ſure *ſhe* is againſt him? If the latter, then *Truth* and he will be found in two different Stories, and which are we to believe? Again, when he gravely adviſes the *Tories* not to *light the Fires in Smithfield*, and goes on in twenty Places, already quoted, as if the Bargain was made for *Popery* and *Slavery* to enter; I aſk again, whether he hath rightly conſidered the Nature of *Truth?* I deſire to put a parallel Caſe. Suppoſe his L———p ſhould take it into his Fancy to write and publiſh a Letter to any Gentleman of no infamous Character for his Religion or Morals; and there adviſe him, with great Earneſtneſs, not to rob or fire Churches, raviſh his Daughter, or murder his Father; ſhew him the Sin and the Dan-

will all theſe Things end in? And on what Deſign are they driven? Alas, it is too viſible! It is as clear as the Sun, that theſe Authors are encouraged by the *Miniſtry*, with a Deſign to bring in *Popery*; and in *Popery* all theſe things will end.

I never was ſo uncharitable to believe, that the whole *Party*, of which his L——p profeſſeth himſelf a Member, had a real, formed Deſign of eſtabliſhing *Atheiſm* among us. The Reaſon why the *Whigs* have taken the *Atheiſts* or *Free-thinkers* into their Body, is, becauſe they wholly agree in their political Schemes, and differ very little in Church Power and Diſcipline. However, I could turn the Argument againſt his Lordſhip with very great Advantage, by quoting Paſſages from fifty Pamphlets, wholly made up of *Whiggiſm* and *Atheiſm*, and then conclude, *What will all theſe things end in? And on what Deſign are they driven? Alas, it is too viſible!*

Laſtly, I would beg his L——p not to be ſo exceedingly outrageous upon the Memory of the Dead; becauſe it is highly probable, that, in a very ſhort Time, he will be one of the Number. He hath, in plain Words, given Mr. *Wharton* the Character of a moſt malicious, revengeful, treacherous, lying, mercenary Villain. To which I ſhall only ſay, that the direct Reverſe of this amiable Deſcription, is what appears from the Works of that moſt learned Divine, and

from the Accounts given me by thoſe, who knew him much better than the B——p ſeems to have done. I meddle not with the moral Part of this Treatment. GOD Almighty forgive his L——p this manner of revenging himſelf; and then there will be but little Conſequence from an Accuſation, which the *Dead* cannot *feel*, and which none of the *Living* will *believe*.

A PRO-

A

PROPOSAL

Humbly offered to the

*P*_____*T*,

For the more effectual preventing the further Growth of POPERY.

WITH THE

Deſcription and Uſe of the ECCLESIASTICAL THERMOMETER. Very proper for all Familes

Inſani ſanus nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,
Ultra quam ſatis eſt, virtutem ſi petat ipſam.
HOR.

HAVING, with great Sorrow of Heart, obſerved the Increaſe of *Popery* among us of late Years, and how ineffectual the penal Laws and Statutes of this Realm have been, for

near forty Years laſt paſt, towards relaiming that blind and deluded People from their Errors, notwithſtanding the good Intentions of the Legiſlators, and the *pious and unwearied Labours* of the many learned Divines of the Eſtabliſhed Church, who have preached to them *without ceaſing*, although hitherto without Succeſs.

Having alſo remarked, in his GRACE's Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, moſt kind Offers of his GRACE's good Offices, towards obtaining ſuch further Laws as ſhall be thought neceſſary towards bringing home the ſaid wandering Sheep into the Fold of the Church, as alſo a good Diſpoſition in the Parliament to join in the *laudable* Work, towards which every good Proteſtant ought to contribute *at leaſt his Advice*: I think it a proper Time to lay before the Publick a Scheme which was writ ſome Years ſince, and laid by to be ready on a fit Occaſion.

That, whereas the ſeveral penal Laws and Statutes now in being againſt *Papiſts*, have been found ineffectual, and rather tend to confirm, than reclaim Men from their Errors, as calling a Man *Coward*, is a ready Way to make him fight; It is humbly propoſed,

I. That the ſaid penal Laws and Statutes againſt *Papiſts*, except the Law of *Gavelkind*, and that which diſqualifies them for Places, be repealed, abrogated, annulled, deſtroyed, and obliterated, to all Intents and Purpoſes.

II. That,

II. That, in the Room of the ſaid penal Laws and Statutes, all Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction be taken from out of the Hands of the Clergy of the Eſtabliſhed Church, and the ſame be veſted in the ſeveral *Popiſh* Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, and Archdeacons; nevertheleſs ſo as ſuch Juriſdiction be exerciſed over Perſons of the *Popiſh* Religion only.

III. That a *Popiſh* Prieſt ſhall be ſettled by Law in each and every Pariſh in *Ireland*.

IV. That the ſaid *Popiſh* Prieſt ſhall, on taking the Oath of Allegiance to his Majeſty, be entitled to a tenth Part or Tithe of all things tithable in *Ireland*, belonging to the *Papiſts*, within their reſpective Pariſhes, yet ſo as ſuch Grant of Tithe, to ſuch *Popiſh* Prieſts, ſhall not be conſtrued, *in Law or Equity*, to hinder the Proteſtant Clergyman of ſuch Pariſh from receiving and collecting his Tithes in *like Manner* as he does at preſent.

V. That, in caſe of Detention or Subſtraction of Tithes by any *Papiſt*, the Pariſh Prieſt do have his Remedy at Law in any of his Majeſty's Courts, in the ſame *Manner as now practiſed by the Clergy of the Eſtabliſhed Church*; together with all other Eccleſiaſtical Dues. And, for their further Diſcovery to vex their People at Law, it might not be amiſs to oblige the Solicitor-General, or ſome other able King's Counſel, to give his Advice, or Aſſiſtance, to ſuch Prieſts *gratis*, for which he might receive a Salary out of the *Barrack Fund*, *Military Contingencies*, or *Concordatum*; having obſerved the Exceedings

Exceedings there better paid than of the Army, or any other Branch of the Eſtabliſhment; and I would have no Delay in Payment in a Matter of this Importance.

VI. That the Archbiſhops and Biſhops have Power to viſit the inferior Clergy, and to extort Proxies, Exhibits, and all other Perquiſites uſual in *Popiſh* and *Proteſtant Countries*.

VII. That the Convocation, having been found, by long Experience, to be hurtful to *true Religion*, be for ever hereafter aboliſhed among *Proteſtants*.

VIII. That, in the Room thereof, the *Popiſh* Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prieſts, Deans, Archdeacons, and Proctors, have Liberty to aſſemble themſelves in Convocation, and be impowered to make ſuch Canons as they ſhall think proper for the Government of the *Papiſts* in *Ireland*.

IX. And that the ſecular Arm being neceſſary to enforce Obedience to Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure, the Sheriffs, Conſtables, and other Officers, be commanded to execute the Decrees and Sentences of the ſaid *Popiſh* Convocation, with Secrecy and Diſpatch; or in lieu thereof, they may be at Liberty to erect an Inquiſition, with proper Officers of their own.

X. That, as *Papiſts* declare themſelves Converts to the Eſtabliſhed Church, all *Spiritual Power* over them ſhall ceaſe.

XI. That as ſoon as any whole Pariſh ſhall renounce the *Popiſh* Religion, the Prieſt of ſuch Pariſh

Pariſh ſhall, for his good Services, have a Penſion of 200*l. per Ann.* ſettled on him for Life, and that he be from ſuch Time exempt from Preaching and Praying, and other Duties of his Function, in like manner as *Proteſtant Divines*, with equal Incomes, are at preſent.

XII. That each Biſhop, ſo ſoon as his Dioceſe ſhall become Proteſtants, be called *My Lord*, and have a Penſion of two thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, during Life.

XIII. That when a whole Province ſhall be reclaimed, the Archbiſhop ſhall be called *His Grace*, and have a Penſion of three thouſand Pounds *per Ann.* during his Life, and be admitted a Member of his Majeſty's *Moſt Honourable Privy Council.*

The good Conſequences of this Scheme (which will execute itſelf without Murmurings againſt the Government) are very viſible: I ſhall mention a few of the moſt obvious.

I. The giving the Prieſt a Right to the Tithe would produce Law-ſuits and Wrangles; his Reverence, being entitled to a certain Income at all Events, would conſider himſelf as a legal Incumbent, and *behave accordingly*, and apply himſelf more to fleecing than feeding his Flock; his neceſſary Attendance on the Courts of Juſtice would leave his People without a *Spiritual Guide*; by which Means *Proteſtant* Curates, who have no Suits about Tithes, would be furniſhed with proper Opportunities for making Converts, which is very much wanted.

II. The erecting a ſpiritual Juriſdiction amongſt them would, *in all Probability*, drive

as

as many out of that Communion, as a *due Execution* of ſuch Juriſdiction hath hitherto drove from amongſt ourſelves.

III. An *Inquiſition* would ſtill be a further Improvement, and moſt certainly would expedite the Converſion of *Papiſts*.

I know it may be objected to this Scheme, and with ſome ſhew of Reaſon, that, ſhould the *Popiſh* Princes abroad purſue the ſame Methods with regard to their Proteſtant Subjects, the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Europe* would thereby be conſiderably weakened: but as we have no Reaſon to ſuſpect *Popiſh* Counſels will ever produce ſo much Moderation, I think the Objection ought to have but little Weight.

A due Execution of this Scheme will ſoon produce many Converts from *Popery*; nevertheleſs, to the End it may be known, when they ſhall be of the true *Church*, I have ordered a large Parcel of Eccleſiaſtical or Church *Thermometers* to be made, one of which is to be hung up in each Pariſh Church, the Deſcription and Uſe of which take as follows, in the Words of the ingenious *Iſaac Bickerſtaff*, Eſq;

THE Church Thermometer, which I am now to treat of, is ſuppoſed to have been invented in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, about the Time when that religious Prince put ſome to Death for owning the Pope's Supremacy, and others for denying Tranſubſtantiation. I do not find, however, any great Uſe made of this Inſtrument, till it fell into the Hand of a learned and vigilant Prieſt or Miniſter

niſter (for he frequently wrote himſelf both the one and the other) who was ſome Time Vicar of *Bray*. This Gentleman lived in his Vicarage to a good old Age; and after having ſeen ſeveral Succeſſions of his neighbouring Clergy either burnt or baniſhed, departed this Life with the Satisfaction of having never deſerted his Flock, and died Vicar of *Bray*. As this Glaſs was firſt deſigned to calculate the different Degrees of Heat in Religion, as it raged in Popery, or as it cooled and grew temperate in the Reformation, it was marked at ſeveral Diſtances, after the manner our ordinary Thermometer is to this Day, *viz. Extreme hot, Sultry hot, Very hot, Hot, Warm, Temperate, Cold, Juſt freezing, Froſt, Hard Froſt, Great Froſt, Extreme Cold.*

It is well known, that *Torricellius*, the Inventor of the common Weather-Glaſs, made the Experiment of a long Tube which held thirty-two Foot of Water; and that a more modern Virtuoſi, finding ſuch a Machine altogether unwieldy and uſeleſs, and conſidering that thirty-two Inches of Quickſilver weighed as much as ſo many Foot of Water in a Tube of the ſame Circumference, invented that ſizeable Inſtrument which is now in Uſe. After this manner, that I might adapt the Thermometer I am now ſpeaking of to the preſent Conſtitution of our Church, as divided into *High* and *Low*, I have made ſome neceſſary Variations both in the Tube and the Fluid it contains. In the firſt Place I ordered a Tube to be caſt in a planetary Hour, and took Care

to

to ſeal it hermetically, when the Sun was in Conjunction with *Saturn*. I then took the proper Precautions about the Fluid, which is a Compound of two different Liquors; one of them a Spirit drawn out of a ſtrong heady Wine; the other a particular ſort of Rock-Water, colder than Ice, and clearer than Chryſtal. The Spirit is of a red, fiery Colour, and ſo very apt to ferment, that, unleſs it be mingled with a Proportion of the Water, or pent up very cloſe, it will burſt the Veſſel that holds it, and fly up in Fume and Smoak. The Water, on the contrary, is of ſuch a ſubtile, piercing Cold, that, unleſs it be mingled with a Proportion of the Spirits, it will ſink almoſt through every Thing it is put into, and ſeems to be of the ſame Nature as the Water mentioned by *Quintius Curtius*, which, ſays the Hiſtorian, could be contained in nothing but in the Hoof, or (as the *Oxford* Manuſcript has it) the Skull of an Aſs. The Thermometer is marked according to the following Figure, which I ſet down at length, not only to give my Reader a clear Idea of it, but alſo to fill up my Paper.

Ignorance.
Perſecution.
Wrath.
Zeal.
CHURCH.
Moderation.
Lukewarmneſs.
Infidelity.
Ignorance.

The

The Reader will obſerve, that the Church is placed in the middle Point of the Glaſs between *Zeal* and *Moderation*, the Situation in which ſhe always flouriſhes, and in which every good *Engliſhman* wiſhes her, who is a Friend to the Conſtitution of his Country. However, when it mounts to *Zeal*, it is not amiſs; and, when it ſinks to *Moderation*, it is ſtill in admirable Temper. The worſt of it is, that when once it begins to riſe, it has ſtill an Inclination to aſcend, inſomuch that it is apt to climb from *Zeal* to *Wrath*, and from *Wrath* to *Perſecution*, which often ends in *Ignorance*, and very often proceeds from it. In the ſame manner it frequently takes its Progreſs through the lower half of the Glaſs; and, when it has a Tendency to fall, will gradually deſcend from *Moderation* to *Lukewarmneſs*, and from *Lukewarmneſs* to *Infidelity*, which very often terminates in *Ignorance*, and always proceeds from it.

It is a common Obſervation, that the ordinary Thermometer will be affected by the breathing of People who are in the Room where it ſtands; and indeed it is almoſt incredible to conceive how the Glaſs I am now deſcribing, will fall by the Breath of the Multitude crying *Popery*; or, on the contrary, how it will riſe when the ſame Multitude (as it ſometimes happens) cry out in the ſame Breath, *The Church is in Danger*.

As ſoon as I had finiſhed this my Glaſs, and adjuſted it to the above-mentioned Scale of Religion, that I might make proper Experiments with it, I carried it under my Cloak to ſeveral Coffee-houſes, and other Places of Reſort, about this great City. At *St. James*'s Coffee-houſe the Liquor ſtood at *Moderation*; but at *Will*'s, to my extreme Surprize, it ſubſided to the very loweſt Mark of the Glaſs. At the *Grecian* it mounted but juſt one Point higher; at the *Rainbow* it ſtill aſcended two Degrees; *Child*'s fetch'd it up to *Zeal*, and other adjacent Coffee-houſes to *Wrath*.

It fell in the lower half of the Glaſs as I went further into the City, till at length it ſettled at *Moderation*, where it continued all the Time I ſtaid about the *Change*, as alſo whilſt I paſſed by the *Bank*. And here I cannot but take Notice, that, through the whole Courſe of my Remarks, I never obſerved my Glaſs to riſe at the ſame Time that the Stocks did.

To complete the Experiment, I prevailed upon a Friend of mine, who works under me in the occult Sciences, to make a Progreſs with my Glaſs through the whole Iſland of *Great Britain*; and, after his Return, to preſent me with a Regiſter of his Obſervations. I gueſſed before-hand at the Temper of ſeveral Places he paſſed through, by the Characters they have had Time out of Mind. Thus that facetious Divine, Dr. *Fuller*, ſpeaking of the Town of *Banbury* near a hundred Years ago, tells us, it was a Place famous for Cakes and *Zeal*, which

I find by my Glaſs is true to this Day, as to the latter Part of his Deſcription; though I muſt confeſs, it is not in the ſame Reputation for Cakes that it was in the Time of that learned Author; and thus of other Places. In ſhort, I have now by me, digeſted in an alphabetical Order, all the Counties, Corporations, and Boroughs in *Great Britain*, with their reſpective Tempers, as they ſtand related to my Thermometer. But this I ſhall keep to myſelf, becauſe I would by no Means do any thing that may ſeem to influence any enſuing Election.

The Point of Doctrine which I would propagate by this my Invention, is the ſame which was long ago advanced by that able Teacher *Horace*, out of whom I have taken my Text for this Diſcourſe: We ſhould be careful not to over-ſhoot ourſelves in the Purſuits even of Virtue. Whether *Zeal* or *Moderation* be the Point we aim at, let us keep Fire out of the one, and Froſt out of the other. But, alas! the World is too wiſe to want ſuch a Precaution. The Terms *High-Church* and *Low-Church*, as commonly uſed, do not ſo much denote a Principle, as they diſtinguiſh a Party. They are like Words of Battle, that have nothing to do with their original Signification, but are only given out to keep a Body of Men together, and to let them know Friends from Enemies.

I muſt confeſs I have conſidered, with ſome Attention, the Influence which the Opinions of

theſe great National Sects have upon their Practice; and do look upon it as one of the unaccountable Things of our Times, that Multitudes of honeſt Gentlemen, who entirely agree in their Lives, ſhould take it in their Heads to differ in their Religion.

I ſhall conclude this Paper with an Account of a Conference which happened between a very excellent Divine (whoſe Doctrine was eaſy, and formerly much reſpected) and a Lawyer.

AND behold a certain Lawyer ſtood up and tempted him, ſaying, Maſter, what ſhall I do to inherit eternal Life?

He ſaid unto him, What is written in the Law? How readeſt thou?

And he anſwering, ſaid, Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and with all thy Soul, and with all thy Strength, and with all thy Mind; and thy Neighbour as thyſelf.

And he ſaid unto him, Thou haſt anſwered right; this do, and thou ſhalt live.

But he, willing to juſtify himſelf, ſaid unto *Jeſus*, And who is my Neighbour?

And *Jeſus* anſwering, ſaid; A certain Man went down from *Jeruſalem* to *Jericho*, and fell among Thieves, which ſtripped him of his Raiment, and wounded *him*, and departed, leaving *him* half dead.

And by chance there came down a certain Prieſt that Way; and, when he ſaw him, he paſſed by on the other Side.

And

And likewiſe a Levite, when he was at the Place, came and looked on *him*, and paſſed by on the other Side.

But a certain *Samaritan*, as he journied, came where he was; and, when he ſaw him, he had Compaſſion on him,

And went to him, and bound up his Wounds, pouring in Oil and Wine; and ſet him on his own Beaſt, and brought him to an Inn, and took Care of him.

And on the Morrow, when he departed, he took out two Pence, and gave them to the Hoſt, and ſaid unto him, Take Care of him, and whatſoever thou ſpendeſt more, when I come again, I will repay thee.

Which now of theſe three, thinkeſt thou, was Neighbour unto him that fell among the Thieves?

And he ſaid, He that ſhewed Mercy on him. Then ſaid *Jeſus* unto him, Go, and do thou likewiſe. *Luke* x. 25 to 38.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THERE is now in the Preſs a Propoſal for raiſing a Fund towards paying the National Debt by the following Means: The Author would have Commiſſioners appointed to ſearch all the publick and private Libraries, Bookſellers Shops and Ware-houſes, in this Kingdom, for ſuch Books as are of no Uſe to the Owner, or to the Publick, *viz.* all Comments on the Holy Scriptures, whether called

Sermons, Creeds, Bodies of Divinity, Tomes of Caſuiſtry, Vindications, Confutations, Eſſays, Anſwers, Replies, Rejoinders, or Surrejoinders, together with all other learned Treatiſes, and Books of Divinity, of what Denomination or Claſs ſoever; as alſo all Comments on the Laws of the Land, ſuch as Reports, Law-Caſes, Decrees, Guides for Attornies and young Clerks, and, in fine, all the Books now in Being in this Kingdom (whether of Divinity, Law, Phyſick, Metaphyſicks, Logicks, or Politicks) except the pure Text of the Holy Scriptures, the naked Text of the Laws, a few Books of Morality, Poetry, Muſick, Architecture, Agriculture, Mathematicks, Merchandiſe, and Hiſtory; the Author would have the aforeſaid uſeleſs Books carried to the ſeveral Paper-Mills, there to be wrought into white Paper, which, to prevent Damage or Complaints, he would have performed by the Commentators, Criticks, popular Preachers, Apothecaries, learned Lawyers, Attornies, Solicitors, Logicians, Phyſicians, Almanack-makers, and others of the like wrong Turn of Mind; the ſaid Paper to be ſold, and the Produce applied to diſcharge the National Debt; what ſhould remain of the ſaid Debt unſatisfied, might be paid by a Tax on the Salaries or Eſtates of *Bankers*, *Common Cheats*, *Uſurers*, *Treaſurers*, *Imbezzlers of publick Money*, *General Officers*, *Sharpers*, *Penſioners*, *Pick-packets*, &c.

A

LETTER

TO THE

Shopkeepers, Tradeſmen, Farmers, and Common People

OF

IRELAND,

CONCERNING THE

BRASS HALF-PENCE

Coined by one WILLIAM WOOD, Hard-ware-man, with a DESIGN to have them paſs in this Kingdom.

Wherein is ſhewn

The Power of his PATENT, the Value of his HALF-PENCE, and how far every Perſon may be obliged to take the ſame in Payments, and how to behave himſelf, in caſe ſuch an Attempt ſhould be made by WOOD, or any other Perſon.

(Very proper to be kept in every Family.)

By *M. B.* DRAPIER.

Written in the Year 1724.

LETTER I.

To the *Tradeſmen, Shop-keepers, Farmers*, and *Country-People* in general of the Kingdom of *IRELAND.*

Brethren, Friends, Countrymen,
and *Fellow-Subjects,*

WHAT I intend now to ſay to you, is, next to your Duty to GOD, and the Care of your Salvation, of the greateſt Concern to yourſelves, and your Children; your *Bread* and *Clothing*, and every common Neceſſary of Life entirely depend upon it. Therefore I do moſt earneſtly exhort you as *Men*, as *Chriſtians*, as *Parents*, and as *Lovers of your Country*, to read this Paper with the utmoſt Attention, or get it read to you by others; which that you may do at the leſs Expence, I have ordered the *Printer* to ſell it at the loweſt Rate.

It is a great Fault among you, that when a Perſon writes with no other Intention, than *to do you Good, you will not be at the Pains to read his Advices.* One Copy of this Paper may ſerve a Dozen of you, which will be leſs than a Farthing a-piece. It is your Folly, that

that you have no common or general Intereſt in your View, not even the wiſeſt among you; neither do you know, or enquire, or care, who are your Friends, or who are your Enemies.

About four Years ago a little Book was written to adviſe all People to wear the *Manufactures of this our own dear* * *Country*. It had no other Deſign, ſaid nothing againſt *King* or *Parliament*, or any Perſon whatſoever; yet the poor PRINTER was proſecuted two Years with the utmoſt Violence, and even ſome WEAVERS themſelves, for whoſe Sake it was written, being upon the JURY, FOUND HIM GUILTY. This would be enough to diſcourage any Man from endeavouring to do you good, when you will either neglect him, or fly in his Face for his pains; and when he muſt expect only *Danger to himſelf*, and to be fined and impriſoned, perhaps to his Ruin.

However, I cannot but warn you once more of the manifeſt Deſtruction before your Eyes, if you do not behave yourſelves as you ought.

I will therefore firſt tell you the *plain Story of the Fact*; and then I will lay before you how you ought to act in common Prudence, and according to the *Laws of your Country*.

The *Fact* is thus: It having been many Years ſince COPPER HALF-PENCE or FARTHINGS were laſt coined in this Kingdom, they have been, for ſome Time, very ſcarce, and many

* *See a Pamphlet in the Ninth Volume, entituled,* A Propoſal for the Uſe of *Iriſh* Manufactures.

Counterfeits

Counterfeits paſſed about, under the Name of RAPS: Several Applications were made to *England*, that we might have Liberty to *coin New Ones*, as in former Times we did, but they did not ſucceed. At laſt one Mr. WOOD, a *mean ordinary Man, a Hard-ware Dealer*, procured a *Patent* under His *Majeſty's Broad Seal*, to coin 108,000 *l.* in *Copper* for this Kingdom; which Patent, however, did not oblige any one here to take them, unleſs they pleaſed. Now you muſt know, that the *Half-pence* and *Farthings* in *England*, paſs for very little more than they are worth; And, if you ſhould beat them to pieces, and ſell them to the *Brazier*, you would not loſe much above a Penny in a Shilling. But Mr. *Wood* made his *Half-pence* of ſuch *baſe Metal*, and ſo much ſmaller than the *Engliſh* ones, that the *Brazier* would hardly give you above a *Penny* of good Money for a *Shilling* of his; ſo that this Sum of 108,000 *l.* in good Gold and Silver, muſt be given for *Traſh*, that will not be worth above *Eight* or *Nine Thouſand Pounds* real Value. But this is not the worſt; for Mr. *Wood*, when he pleaſes, may, by Stealth, ſend over another 108,000 *l.* and *buy all our Goods for eleven Parts in twelve* under the Value. For Example, if a *Hatter* ſells a Dozen of *Hats* for *five Shillings* a-piece, which amounts to *three Pounds*, and receives the Payment in *Wood's* Coin, he really receives only the Value of *five Shillings*.

Perhaps you will wonder how ſuch an *ordinary Fellow*, as this Mr. *Wood*, could have ſo much

much Intereſt as to get His MAJESTY's Broad Seal for ſo great a Sum of bad Money, to be ſent to this poor Country; and that all the *Nobility* and *Gentry* here could not obtain the ſame Favour, and let us make our own *Halfpence*, as we uſed to do. Now I will make that Matter very plain: We are at a great Diſtance from the King's *Court*, and have no body there to ſolicit for us, although a great Number of *Lords* and *Squires*, whoſe Eſtates are here, and are our Countrymen, ſpend all their *Lives* and *Fortunes* there: But this ſame Mr. *Wood* was able to attend conſtantly for his own Intereſt; he is an *Engliſhman*, and had great Friends, and, it ſeems, knew very well *where to give Money* to thoſe, that would ſpeak to others, that could ſpeak to the *King*, and would tell a *fair Story*. And *His Majeſty*, and perhaps the great Lord, or Lords who adviſed him, might think it was for our *Country's Good:* and ſo, as the Lawyers expreſs it, the *King* was deceived in his Grant, which often happens in all Reigns. And I am ſure if *His Majeſty* knew that ſuch a Patent, if it ſhould take Effect according to the Deſire of Mr. *Wood*, would utterly ruin this Kingdom, which hath given ſuch great Proofs of its *Loyalty*, he would immediately recal it, and perhaps ſhew his Diſpleaſure to *ſome body* or *other*; but a *Word to the Wiſe is enough*. Moſt of you have heard with what Anger our *Honourable Houſe of Commons* received an Account of this *Wood's Patent*. There were ſeveral *fine Speeches* made upon it,

and

and plain Proofs, that it was all a *wicked Cheat*, from the *Bottom* to the *Top*; and ſeveral *ſmart Votes* were printed, which that ſame *Wood* had the Aſſurance to anſwer likewiſe in *Print*; and in ſo confident a Way, as if he were a *better Man* than our *whole Parliament* put together.

This *Wood*, as ſoon as his *Patent* was paſſed, or ſoon after, ſends over a great many *Barrels of thoſe Half-pence* to *Cork*, and other Sea-port *Towns*; and, to get them off, offered an *hundred Pounds*, in his Coin, for *ſeventy* or *eighty* in Silver: But the *Collectors* of the *King's* Cuſtoms very honeſtly refuſed to take them, and ſo did almoſt every body elſe. And ſince the Parliament hath condemned them, and deſired the *King* that they might be ſtopped, all the Kingdom do abominate them.

But *Wood* is ſtill working under-hand to force his *Half-pence* upon us; and if he can, by the Help of his Friends in *England*, prevail ſo far as to get an Order, that the *Commiſſioners* and *Collectors* of the *King's* Money ſhall receive them, and that the *Army* is to be paid with them; then he thinks *his Work* ſhall be *done*. And this is the Difficulty you will be under in ſuch a Caſe; for the common Soldier, when he goes to the *Market*, or *Ale-houſe*, will offer this Money; and, if it be refuſed, perhaps he will *ſwagger* and *hector*, and *threaten* to beat the *Butcher*, or *Ale-wife*, or take the Goods by force, and throw them the bad *Half-pence*. In this, and the like Caſes, the *Shopkeeper*, or *Victualler*, or any other *Tradeſman*, has no more to do, than to demand ten Times the

Price of his Goods, if it is to be paid in *Wood's* Money; for Example, Twenty Pence of that Money for a *Quart of Ale*, and ſo in all things elſe, and not part with his Goods till he gets the Money.

For ſuppoſe you go to an *Ale-houſe* with that baſe Money, and the *Landlord* gives you a Quart for Four of thoſe *Half-pence*, what muſt the *Victualler* do? His *Brewer* will not be paid in that Coin, or if the *Brewer* ſhould be ſuch a Fool, the *Farmers* will not take it from them for their * *Bere*, becauſe they are bound by their Leaſes, to pay their Rents in good and lawful Money of *England*, which this is not, nor of *Ireland* neither; and the *'Squire*, their Landlord, will never be ſo bewitched to take ſuch *Traſh* for his Land; ſo that it muſt certainly ſtop ſomewhere or other, and wherever it ſtops it is the ſame thing, and we are all undone.

The common Weight of theſe *Half-pence* is between four and five to an Ounce; ſuppoſe five, then three Shillings and four-pence will weigh a Pound, and conſequently twenty Shillings will weigh ſix Pounds *Butter Weight*. Now there are many hundred *Farmers* who pay two hundred Pounds a Year Rent; therefore when one of theſe *Farmers* comes with his half Year's Rent, which is one Hundred Pounds, it will be at leaſt ſix hundred Pound Weight, which is three Horſes Load.

If a *'Squire* has a mind to come to Town to buy Clothes, and Wine, and Spices, for himſelf

* *A Sort of Barley in* Ireland.

ſelf and Family, or perhaps to paſs the Winter here, he muſt bring with him five or ſix Horſes loaded with *Sacks*, as the Farmers bring their Corn; and, when his Lady comes in her Coach to our Shops, it muſt be followed by a Car loaded with Mr. *Wood*'s Money. And I hope we ſhall have the Grace to take it for no more than it is worth.

They ſay, 'Squire *Conolly* hath *ſixteen* thouſand Pounds a Year; now if he ſends for his *Rent* to Town, as it is likely he does, he muſt have two hundred and fifty *Horſes* to bring up his half Year's *Rent*, and two or three great Cellars in his Houſe for Stowage. But what the Bankers will do, I cannot tell; for I am aſſured, that ſome great *Bankers* keep by them forty thouſand Pounds, in ready Caſh, to anſwer all Payments, which Sum, in Mr. *Wood*'s Money, would require twelve hundred Horſes to carry it.

For my own Part, I am already reſolved what to do: I have a pretty good Shop of *Iriſh* Stuffs and *Silks*, and inſtead of taking Mr. *Wood*'s bad Copper, I intend to truck with my Neighbours the *Butchers*, and *Bakers*, and *Brewers*, and the reſt, *Goods* for *Goods*; and the little *Gold* and *Silver* I have, I will keep by me, like my Heart's Blood, till better Times, or until I am juſt ready to ſtarve, and then I will buy Mr. *Wood*'s Money, as my Father did the Braſs Money in King *James*'s Time, who could buy *ten* Pounds of it with a *Guinea*; and I hope to get as much for a

Piſtole, and ſo purchaſe *Bread* from thoſe who will be ſuch Fools as to ſell it me.

Theſe *Half-pence*, if they once paſs, will ſoon be *counterfeited*, becauſe it may be cheaply done, the *Stuff* is ſo *baſe*. The *Dutch* likewiſe will probably do the ſame thing, and ſend them over to us to pay for our *Goods*; and Mr. *Wood* will never be at reſt, but coin on; ſo that in ſome Years we ſhall have at leaſt five times 108,000 *l.* of this *Lumber*. Now the current Money of this Kingdom is not reckoned to be above four hundred thouſand Pounds in all; and, while there is a *Silver* Six-pence left, theſe *Blood-Suckers* will never be quiet.

When once the *Kingdom* is reduced to ſuch a Condition, I will tell you what muſt be the End: The *Gentlemen of Eſtates* will turn off their *Tenants* for want of Payment, becauſe, as I told you before, the *Tenants* are obliged, by their Leaſes, to pay *Sterling*, which is lawful current Money of *England*: then they will turn their own *Farmers*, as too many of them *do already*, run *all* into *Sheep*, where they can, keeping only ſuch other Cattle as are neceſſary; then they will be their own *Merchants*, and ſend their *Wool*, and *Butter*, and *Hides*, and *Linen*, beyond Sea, for ready *Money*, and Wine, and *Spices*, and *Silks*. They will keep only a few miſerable *Cottagers*; the *Farmers* muſt *rob*, or *beg*, or *leave* their Country; the *Shopkeepers* in this, and every other Town, muſt *break* and *ſtarve*; for it is the *Landed Man* that maintains the *Merchant*, and *Shopkeeper*, and *Handicraftſman*.

But

But when the *Squire* turns *Farmer* and *Merchant* himſelf, all the good Money he gets from abroad, he will hoard up to ſend for *England*, and keep ſome poor *Taylor* or *Weaver*, and the like, in his own Houſe, who will be glad to get Bread at any Rate.

I ſhould never have done, if I were to tell you all the Miſeries that we ſhall undergo, if we be ſo *fooliſh* and *wicked* as to take this *curſed Coin*. It would be very hard, if all *Ireland* ſhould be put into *one Scale*, and this ſorry Fellow, *Wood*, into the *other*; that Mr. *Wood* ſhould weigh down this *whole Kingdom*, by which *England* gets above a Million of good Money every Year clear into their *Pockets*: And that is more than the *Engliſh* do by *all the World* beſides.

But your *great Comfort* is, that as His Majeſty's *Patent* doth not oblige you to take this *Money*, ſo the *Laws* have not given the *Crown* a Power of forcing the *Subject* to take what *Money* the *King* pleaſes; for then, by the ſame Reaſon, we might be bound to take *Pebble-ſtones*, or *Cockle-ſhells*, or *ſtamped Leather*, for *current Coin*, if ever we ſhould happen to live under an ill *Prince*, who might likewiſe, by the ſame Power, make a *Guinea* paſs for *Ten Pounds*, a *Shilling* for *Twenty Shillings*, and ſo on; by which he would, in a ſhort Time, get all the *Silver* and *Gold* of the *Kingdom* into his own Hands, and leave us nothing but *Braſs* or *Leather*, or what he pleaſed. Neither is any thing reckoned more *cruel* and *oppreſſive* in the *French* Government, than their

common Practice of calling in all their Money after they have ſunk it very low, and then coining it anew at a much higher Value; which, however, is not the thouſandth Part ſo wicked as this *abominable Project* of Mr. *Wood*. For the *French* give their Subjects *Silver* for *Silver*, and *Gold* for *Gold*; but this *Fellow* will not ſo much as give us good *Braſs* or *Copper* for our *Gold* and *Silver*, nor even a twelfth Part of their Worth.

Having ſaid this much, I will now go on to tell you the Judgment of ſome great *Lawyers* in this Matter; whom I fee'd on purpoſe for your Sakes, and got their *Opinions* under their *Hands*, that I might be ſure I went upon good Grounds.

A Famous Law-Book, *called the* Mirrour of Juſtice, *diſcourſing of the Charters (or Laws) ordained by our* Ancient Kings, *declares the Law to be as follows: It was ordained, that no* King *of this Realm ſhould change or impair the* Money, *or make any other* Money *than of* Gold *or* Silver, *without the Aſſent of all the Counties*; *that is, as* My Lord Coke * *ſays, without the Aſſent of* Parliament.

This Book is very ancient, and of great Authority for the Time in which it was wrote, and with that Character is often quoted by that great Lawyer *My Lord Coke* †. By the Laws of *England* ſeveral Metals are divided into *lawful* or *true Metal*, and *unlawful* or *falſe Metal*; the former comprehends *Silver* or *Gold*, the latter all *baſer Metals*; that the

* 1 Inſt. 576. † 2 Inſt. 576, 7.

former

former is only to paſs in Payments, appears by an Act of *Parliament* * made the twentieth Year of *Edward the Firſt*, called, *The Statute concerning the paſſing of Pence*; which I give you here as I got it tranſlated into *Engliſh*; for ſome of our *Laws* at that Time were, as I am told, writ in *Latin*: *Whoever, in buying or ſelling, preſumes to refuſe an Half-penny or Farthing, of lawful Money, bearing the Stamp which it ought to have, let him be ſeized on as a Contemner of the King's Majeſty, and caſt into Priſon.*

By this *Statute*, no Perſon is to be reckoned a *Contemner* of the *King's Majeſty*, and for that Crime to be *committed to Priſon*, but he who refuſeth to accept the King's Coin made of *lawful Metal*; by which, as I obſerved before, *Silver* and *Gold* only are intended.

That this is the true *Conſtruction* of the *Act*, appears not only from the plain Meaning of the Words, but from my Lord *Coke*'s † Obſervation upon it. By this Act (ſays he) it appears, that no Subject can be forced to take in *Buying* or *Selling*, or other *Payment*, any Money made but of *lawful* Metal; that is, of *Silver* or *Gold*.

The Law of *England* gives the King all Mines of *Gold* and *Silver*; but not the Mines of other *Metals*; the Reaſon of which *Prerogative*, or *Power*, as it is given by my Lord *Coke* ‖, is, becauſe Money can be made of *Gold* and *Silver*, but not of other *Metals*.

* 2 Inſt. 577. † 2 Inſt. 577. ‖ 2 Inſt. 577.

Purſuant

Purſuant to this Opinion, *Half-pence* and *Farthings* were anciently made of *Silver*, which is evident from the Act of *Parliament* of *Henry* the Fourth, Chap. 4. whereby it is enacted as follows: *Item, for the great Scarcity that is at preſent within the Realm of* England *of Half-pence and Farthings of* Silver; *it is ordained and eſtabliſhed, that the third Part of all the* Money *of* Silver Plate *which ſhall be brought to the* Bullion, *ſhall be made in* Half-pence *and* Farthings. This ſhews, that by the Words *Half-penny* and *Farthing* of lawful Money in that *Statute* concerning the *Paſſing of* Pence, is meant a ſmall Coin in *Half-pence* and *Farthings* of *Silver*.

This is further manifeſt from the Statute of the Ninth Year of *Edward* the Third, Chap. 3. which enacts, *That no Sterling* Half-penny *or* Farthing *be molten for to make Veſſels, or any other thing, by the* Goldſmiths, *nor others, upon Forfeiture of the* Money *ſo molten (or melted.)*

By another Act in this King's Reign, *Black Money* was not to be current in *England*. And, by an Act made in the eleventh Year of his Reign, Chap. 5. *Gally Half-pence* were not to paſs: What kind of *Coin* theſe were, I do not know; but I preſume they were made of *baſe Metal*. And theſe Acts were no new *Laws*, but further Declarations of the old *Laws* relating to the Coin.

Thus the *Law* ſtands in relation to *Coin*. Nor is there any Example to the contrary, except one in *Davis's Reports*, who tells us, that,

in

In the Time of *Tyrone*'s Rebellion, Queen *Elizabeth* ordered *Money* of *mixed Metal*, to be coined in the Tower of *London*, and ſent over hither for the Payment of the *Army*; obliging all People to receive it; and commanding that all *Silver Money* ſhould be taken only as *Bullion*; that is, for as much as it weighed. *Davis* tells us ſeveral Particulars in this Matter, too long here to trouble you with, and that the *Privy-Council* of this Kingdom obliged a *Merchant* in *England* to receive this *mixed Money* for Goods tranſmitted hither.

But this Proceeding is rejected by all the beſt Lawyers, as contrary to Law, the *Privy-Council* here having no ſuch legal Power. And, beſides, it is to be conſidered, that the QUEEN was then under great Difficulties, by a *Rebellion* in this *Kingdom*, aſſiſted from *Spain*; and whatever is done in great Exigencies and dangerous Times, ſhould never be an Example to proceed by in Seaſons of *Peace* and *Quietneſs*.

I will now, my dear Friends, to ſave you the Trouble, ſet before you in ſhort, what the *Law* obliges you to do, and what it does not oblige you to.

Firſt, You are obliged to take all Money in Payments which is coined by the *King*, and is of the *Engliſh* Standard or Weight, provided it be of *Gold* or *Silver*.

Secondly, You are not obliged to take any Money which is not of *Gold* or *Silver*; not only the *Half-pence* or *Farthings* of *England*, but of any other Country. And it is merely for Convenience, or Eaſe, that you are content

to

to take them; becauſe the Cuſtom of coining Silver *Half-pence* and *Farthings*, hath long been left off; I ſuppoſe on Account of their being ſubject to be loſt.

Thirdly, Much leſs are we obliged to take thoſe *vile Half-pence* of that ſame *Wood*, by which you muſt loſe almoſt Eleven Pence in every Shilling.

Therefore, my Friends, ſtand to it One and All: Refuſe this *filthy Traſh*. It is no Treaſon to rebel againſt Mr. *Wood*. His *Majeſty*, in his Patent, obliges no body to take theſe *Half-pence*: Our *Gracious Prince* hath no ſuch ill Adviſers about him; or, if he had, yet you ſee the Laws have not left it in the *King*'s Power, to force us to take any Coin but what is lawful, of right Standard, *Gold* and *Silver*. Therefore you have nothing to fear.

And let me, in the next place, apply myſelf particularly to you who are the poorer ſort of *Tradeſmen*. Perhaps you may think you will not be ſo great Loſers as the Rich, if theſe *Half-pence* ſhould paſs; becauſe you ſeldom ſee any *Silver*, and your Cuſtomers come to your Shops or Stalls with nothing but *Braſs*, which you likewiſe find hard to be got. But you may take my Word, whenever this Money gains Footing among you, you will be utterly undone. If you carry theſe *Half-pence* to a Shop for *Tobacco*, or *Brandy*, or any other thing that you want; the Shopkeeper will advance his Goods accordingly, or elſe he muſt break, and leave the *Key under the Door*. *Do*

you

you think I will ſell you a Yard of Ten-penny Stuff for Twenty *of Mr.* Wood's *Half-pence? No, not under* Two Hundred *at leaſt; neither will I be at the Trouble of counting, but weigh them in a Lump.* I will tell you one thing further, that if Mr. *Wood*'s Project ſhould take, it would ruin even our *Beggars*; for when I give a *Beggar* a Half-penny, it will quench his Thirſt, or go a good Way to fill his Belly; but the twelfth Part of a Half-penny will do him no more Service, than if I ſhould give him three Pins out of my Sleeve.

In ſhort, theſe *Half-pence* are like the *accurſed Thing*, which, as the *Scripture* tells us, *the Children of Iſrael* were forbidden to *touch.* They will run about *like the Plague, and deſtroy every one who lays his Hands upon them.* I have heard *Scholars* talk of a Man who told the King that he had invented a Way to torment People, by putting them into a *Bull of Braſs* with Fire under it. But the *Prince* put the *Projector* firſt into his *Brazen Bull* to make the Experiment. This very much reſembles the *Project* of Mr. *Wood*; and the like of this may poſſibly be Mr. *Wood's* Fate, that the *Braſs* he contrived to torment this Kingdom with, may prove his own Torment, and his Deſtruction at laſt.

N. B. The Author of this Paper is informed, by Perſons who have made it their Buſineſs to be exact in their Obſervations on the true Value of theſe *Half-pence*, than any Perſon may

expect

expect to get a Quart of *Twopenny-Ale* for *Thirty ſix* of them.

I deſire that all *Families* may keep this Paper carefully by them to refreſh their Memories, whenever they ſhall have farther Notice of Mr. *Wood*'s Half-pence, or any other the like Impoſture.

LETTER II.

A LETTER *to Mr.* Harding *the Printer, upon Occaſion of a* Paragraph *in his News-Paper of* Auguſt the Firſt, 1724, *relating to Mr* Wood's *Half-pence.*

IN your News-Letter of the firſt Inſtant there is a Paragraph, dated from *London, July* 25th, relating to *Wood*'s Half-pence; whereby it is plain, what I foretold in my *Letter to the Shopkeepers, &c.* that this vile Fellow would never be at reſt; and that the Danger of our Ruin approaches nearer; and therefore the Kingdom requires *new* and *freſh Warning*. However, I take that Paragraph to be, in a great meaſure, an Impoſition upon the Publick; at leaſt I hope ſo, becauſe I am informed that *Wood* is generally his own News-writer. I cannot but obſerve from that Paragraph, that this publick Enemy of ours, not ſatisfied to ruin us with his *Traſh*, takes every Occaſion to treat this

this Kingdom with the utmoſt Contempt. He repreſents *ſeveral of our Merchants and Traders upon Examination before a Committee of Council, agreeing that there was the utmoſt Neceſſity of Copper Money here, before his Patent; ſo that ſeveral Gentlemen have been forced to tally with their Workmen, and give them bits of Cards ſealed and ſubſcribed with their Names.* What then? If a Phyſician preſcribe to a Patient a *Dram* of Phyſick, ſhall a Raſcal-Apothecary cram him with a *Pound*, and mix it up with *Poiſon?* And is it not a Landlord's Hand and Seal to his own Labourers a better Security for five or ten Shillings than *Wood's* Braſs, ten Times below the real Value, can be to the Kingdom for an hundred and eight thouſand Pounds?

But who are theſe *Merchants and Traders of* Ireland that make this Report of *the utmoſt Neceſſity we are under for Copper Money?* They are only a few Betrayers of their Country, Confederates with *Wood*, from whom they are to purchaſe a great Quantity of his Coin, perhaps at half the Price that we are to take it, and vend it among us, to the Ruin of the Publick, and their own private Advantages. Are not theſe excellent Witneſſes, upon whoſe Integrity the Fate of a Kingdom muſt depend, who are Evidences in their own Cauſe, and Sharers in this Work of Iniquity?

If we could have deſerved the Liberty of coining for ourſelves, as we formerly did, (and why we have it not, *is every Body's Wonder as well as mine*) ten thouſand Pounds might have

been coined here in *Dublin* of only one fifth below the intrinſick Value, and this Sum, with the Stock of Half-pence we then had, would have been ſufficient: But *Wood*, by his Emiſſaries, Enemies to GOD and this Kingdom, hath taken care to buy up as many of our old Half-pence as he could; and from thence the preſent Want of Change ariſes; to remove which by Mr. *Wood*'s Remedy, would be to cure a Scratch on the Finger by cutting off the Arm. But ſuppoſing there were not one Farthing of Change in the whole Nation, I will maintain, that five and twenty thouſand Pounds would be a Sum fully ſufficient to anſwer all our Occaſions. I am no inconſiderable Shopkeeper in this Town, I have diſcourſed with ſeveral of my own, and other Trades, with many Gentlemen both of City and Country, and alſo with great Numbers of Farmers, Cottagers, and Labourers, who all agree, that two Shilling in Change for every Family would be more than neceſſary in all Dealings. Now by the largeſt Computation (even before that grievous Diſcouragement of *Agriculture*, which hath ſo much leſſened our Numbers) the Souls in this Kingdom are computed to be one Million and a half; which, allowing ſix to a Family, makes two hundred and fifty thouſand Families; and conſequently two Shillings to each Family will amount only to Five and twenty thouſand Pounds; whereas this *honeſt, liberal, Hard-ware-Man, Wood*, would impoſe upon us above *four times* that Sum.

Your

Your Paragraph relates further, that Sir *Iſaac Newton* reported an *Aſſay* taken at the *Tower* of *Wood's* Metal; by which it appears, that *Wood* had, *in all reſpects, performed his Contract.* His Contract! With whom? Was it with the Parliament or People of *Ireland?* Are not they to be the Purchaſers? But they deteſt, abhor, and reject it, as corrupt, fraudulent, mingled with Dirt and Traſh. Upon which he grows angry, goes to Law, and will impoſe his Goods upon us by Force.

But your News-Letter ſays, that an *Aſſay* was made of the Coin. How impudent and inſupportable is this! *Wood* takes care to coin a Dozen or two Half-pence of good Metal, ſends them to the *Tower*, and they are approved, and theſe muſt anſwer all that he hath already coined, or ſhall coin for the future. It is true, indeed, that a Gentleman often ſends to my Shop for a Pattern of Stuff; I cut it fairly off, and, if he likes it, he comes, or ſends, and compares the *Pattern* with the whole Piece, and probably we come to a Bargain. But if I were to buy an hundred Sheep, and the Grazier ſhould bring me one ſingle Weather fat and well fleec'd, by way of *Pattern*, and expect the ſame Price round for the whole hundred, without ſuffering me to ſee them before he was paid, or giving me good Security to reſtore my Money for thoſe that were *lean*, or *ſhorn*, or *ſcabby*, I would be none of his Cuſtomer. I have heard of a Man who had a Mind to ſell his Houſe, and therefore car-

ried a Piece of *Brick* in his Pocket, which he ſhewed as a *Pattern* to encourage Purchaſers; and this is directly the Caſe in point with Mr. *Wood*'s *Aſſay*.

The next Part of the Parapraph contains Mr. *Wood's* voluntary Propoſals for *preventing any further Objections or Apprehenſions*.

His firſt Propoſal is, That *whereas he hath already coined ſeventeen thouſand Pounds, and has Copper prepared to make it up forty thouſand Pounds, he will be content to coin no more, unleſs the* EXIGENCIES *of* TRADE REQUIRE IT, *although his Patent impowers him to coin a far greater Quantity*.

To which, if I were to anſwer, it ſhould be thus: Let Mr. *Wood*, and his Crew of *Founders* and *Tinkers*, coin on, till there is not an old Kettle left in the Kingdom; let them coin old Leather, Tobacco-Pipe-Clay, or the Dirt in the Streets, and call their Trumpery by what Name they pleaſe, from a Guinea to a Farthing, we are not under any Concern to know how he and his Tribe of Accomplices think fit to employ themſelves. But I hope, and truſt, that we are all to a Man fully determined to have nothing to do with him or his Ware.

The King hath given him a Patent to coin Halfpence, but hath not obliged us to take them; and I have already ſhewn in my *Letter to the Shopkeepers, &c.* that the Law hath not left it in the Power of the *Prerogative* to compel the Subject to take any Money, beſides Gold and

and Silver, of the right Sterling and Standard.

Wood further propoſes, (if I underſtand him right, for his Expreſſions are dubious) that *he will not coin above forty thouſand Pounds, unleſs the Exigencies of Trade require it.* Firſt, I obſerve that this Sum of *forty thouſand Pounds* is almoſt double to what I proved to be ſufficient for the whole Kingdom, although we had not one of our old Half-pence left. Again I aſk, Who is to be Judge when the *Exigencies of Trade require it?* Without doubt he means himſelf; for as to us of this poor Kingdom, who muſt be utterly ruined if this Project ſhould ſucceed, we were never *once* conſulted till the Matter was over, and he will judge of our *Exigencies* by his own; neither will theſe be ever at an End, till he and his Accomplices will think they have enough: And it now appears that he will not be content with all our Gold and Silver, but intends to buy up our Goods and Manufactures with the ſame Coin.

I ſhall not enter into Examination of the Prices for which he now propoſes to ſell his Half-pence, or what he calls his Copper, by the Pound; I have ſaid enough of it in my former Letter, and it hath likewiſe been conſidered by others. It is certain, that, by his own firſt Computation, we were to pay three Shillings for what was intrinſically worth but one, although it had been of the true Weight and Standard for which he pretended to have

contracted; but there is so great a Difference, both in Weight and Badness, in several of his Coins, that some of them have been nine in ten below the intrinsick Value, and most of them six or seven.

His last Proposal being of a peculiar Strain and Nature, deserves to be very particularly considered, both on Account of the Matter and the Style. It is as follows:

Lastly, In Consideration of the direful Apprehensions which prevail in Ireland, *that Mr.* Wood *will, by such Coinage, drain them of their Gold and Silver; he proposes to take their Manufactures in Exchange, and that no Person be* obliged *to receive more than Five-pence Half-penny at one Payment.*

First, Observe this little impudent *Hardware-man* turning into Ridicule the *direful Apprehensions of a whole Kingdom*, priding himself as the Cause of them, and daring to prescribe what no King of *England* ever attempted, how far a whole Nation shall be obliged to take his Brass Coin. And he has Reason to insult; for sure there was never an Example in History of a great Kingdom kept in Awe for above a Year, in daily Dread of utter Destruction, not by a powerful Invader at the Head of twenty thousand Men; not by a Plague or a Famine; not by a tyrannical Prince (for we never had one more Gracious) or a corrupt Administration, but by one single, diminutive, insignificant Mechanick.

But

But to go on: To remove our *direful Apprehenſions, that he will drain us of our Gold and Silver by his Coinage*, this little arbitrary *Mock Monarch* moſt graciouſly offers to *take our Manufactures in Exchange*. Are our *Iriſh* Underſtandings indeed ſo low in his Opinion? Is not this the very Miſery we complain of? That his curſed Project will put us under the Neceſſity of ſelling our Goods for what is equal to *Nothing?* How would ſuch a Propoſal ſound from *France* or *Spain*, or any other Country with which we traffick, if they ſhould offer to deal with us only upon this Condition, that we ſhould take their Money at ten times higher than the intrinſick Value? Does Mr. *Wood* think, for Inſtance, that we will ſell him a Stone of Wool for a Parcel of his *Counters* not worth *Sixpence*, when we can ſend it to *England*, and receive as many Shillings in Gold and Silver? Surely there was never heard ſuch a Compound of Impudence, Villainy, and Folly.

His Propoſals conclude with perfect *High-Treaſon*. He promiſes, that *no Perſon ſhall be* obliged *to receive more than Five-pence Half-penny of his Coin in one Payment*. By which it is plain, that he pretends to *oblige* every Subject in this Kingdom to take ſo much in every Payment, if it be offered; whereas his Patent *obliges* no Man, nor can the Prerogative, by Law, claim ſuch a Power, as I have often obſerved; ſo that here Mr. *Wood* takes upon him the *Entire Legiſlature*, and an abſolute Dominion over the Properties of the whole Nation.

Good

Good GOD! Who are this Wretch's *Adviſers?* Who are his *Supporters*, *Abettors*, *Encouragers*, or *Sharers?* Mr. *Wood* will *oblige* me to take Five-pence Half-penny of his Braſs in every Payment. And I will ſhoot Mr. *Wood*, and his Deputies, through the Head, like *Highwaymen*, or *Houſe-breakers*, if they dare to force one Farthing of their Coin on me in the Payment of an hundred Pounds. It is no Loſs of Honour to ſubmit to the *Lion*; but who, with the Figure of a *Man*, can think, with Patience, of being devoured alive by a *Rat?* He has laid a Tax upon the People of *Ireland* of ſeventeen Shillings at leaſt in the Pound: A Tax, I ſay, not only upon Lands, but Intereſt-Money, Goods, Manufactures, the Hire of Handicraftſmen, Labourers, and Servants. Shopkeepers look to yourſelves; *Wood* will *oblige* and force you to take Five-pence Half-penny of his Traſh in every Payment; and many of you receive twenty, thirty, forty Payments in one Day, or elſe you can hardly find Bread: And pray conſider how much that will amount to in a Year; twenty times Five-pence Half-penny is nine Shillings and Two-pence, which is above an hundred and ſixty Pounds a Year; whereby you will be Loſers of at leaſt one hundred and forty Pounds, by taking your Payments in his Money. If any of you be content to deal with Mr. *Wood* on ſuch Conditions, they may: but, for my own particular, *let his Money periſh with him.* If the famous Mr. *Hambden* rather choſe to go

to

to Priſon, than pay a few Shillings to King *Charles* I. without Authority of Parliament; I will rather chuſe to be *hanged* than have all my Subſtance taxed at ſeventeen Shillings in the Pound, at the arbitrary Will and Pleaſure of the venerable Mr. *Wood*.

The Paragraph concludes thus: N. B. (that is to ſay, *Nota Bene*, or *Mark well*) *No Evidence appeared from* Ireland, *or elſewhere, to prove the Miſchiefs complained of, or any Abuſes whatſoever committed in the Execution of the ſaid Grant*.

The Impudence of this Remark exceeds all that went before. Firſt, the Houſe of Commons in *Ireland*, which repreſents the whole People of the Kingdom, and, Secondly, the Privy Council, addreſſed His Majeſty againſt theſe Half-pence: What could be done more to expreſs the univerſal Senſe of the Nation? If his Copper were Diamonds, and the Kingdom were entirely againſt it, would not that be ſufficient to reject it? Muſt a Committee of the whole Houſe of Commons, and our whole Privy Council, go over to argue *Pro* and *Con* with Mr. *Wood?* To what end did the King give his Patent for coining Half-pence in *Ireland?* Was it not, becauſe it was repreſented to His Sacred Majeſty, that ſuch a Coinage would be of Advantage to the Good of this Kingdom, and of all his Subjects here? It is to the Patentee's Peril, if his Repreſentation be falſe, and the Execution of his Patent be fraudulent and corrupt. Is he ſo wicked and fooliſh to think

think that his Patent was given him to ruin a Million and a half of People, that he might be a Gainer of three or fourſcore thouſand Pounds to himſelf? Before he was at the Charge of paſſing a Patent, much more of raking up ſo much filthy Droſs, and ſtamping it with His Majeſty's *Image and Superſcription*; ſhould he not firſt in common Senſe, in common Equity, and common Manners, have conſulted the principal Party concerned; that is to ſay, the People of the Kingdom, the Houſe of Lords, or Commons, or the Privy Council? If any Foreigner ſhould aſk us, *Whoſe Image and Superſcription* there is on *Wood*'s Coin? we ſhould be aſhamed to tell him, it was *Cæſar*'s. In that great Want of Copper Half-pence, which he alledges we were, our City ſet up *our Cæſar*'s Statue in excellent Copper, at an Expence that is equal in Value to thirty thouſand Pound of his Coin; and we will not receive his Image in worſe Metal.

I obſerve many of our People putting a melancholy Face on this Subject. It is true, ſay they, we are all undone, if *Wood*'s Half-pence muſt paſs; but what ſhall we do, if His Majeſty puts out a *Proclamation* commanding us to take them? This hath been often dunned in my Ears. But I deſire my Countrymen to be aſſured that there is nothing in it. The King never iſſues out a *Proclamation* but to enjoin what the Law permits him. He will not iſſue out a *Proclamation* againſt *Law*; or if ſuch a Thing ſhould happen by a Miſtake, we are

no

no more obliged to obey it than to run our Heads into the Fire. Beſides, His Majeſty will never command us by a *Proclamation*, what he does not offer to command us in the *Patent* itſelf. There he leaves it to our Diſcretion; ſo that our Deſtruction muſt be entirely owing to ourſelves. Therefore let no Man be afraid of a *Proclamation*, which will never be granted; and if it ſhould, yet, upon this Occaſion, will be of no Force. The King's Revenues here are near four hundred thouſand Pounds a Year. Can you think his Miniſters will adviſe him to take them in *Wood*'s Braſs, which will reduce the Value to fifty thouſand Pounds? *England* gets a Million *Sterling* by this Nation; which, if this Project goes on, will be almoſt reduced to nothing: And do you think thoſe who live in *England* upon *Iriſh* Eſtates, will be content to take an eighth or a tenth Part, by being paid in *Wood*'s Droſs.

If *Wood*, and his *Confederates*, were not convinced of our Stupidity, they never would have attempted ſo audacious an Enterprize. He now ſees a Spirit hath been raiſed againſt him, and he only watches till it begins to flag; he goes about *watching* when to *devour us*. He hopes we ſhall be weary of contending with him; and at laſt, out of Ignorance, or Fear, or of being perfectly tired with Oppoſition, we ſhall be forced to yield. And therefore, I confeſs, it is my chief Endeavour to keep up your Spirits and Reſentments. If I tell you there

there is a Precipice under you, and that if you go forwards you will certainly break your Necks; if I point to it before your Eyes, muſt I be at the Trouble of repeating it every Morning? Are our People's *Hearts waxed groſs? Are their Ears dull of Hearing*, and have *they cloſed their Eyes?* I fear there are ſome few *Vipers* among us, who, for ten or twenty Pounds Gain, would ſell their Souls and their Country; although, at laſt, it ſhould end in their own Ruin, as well as ours. But be not like *the deaf Adder, who refuſes to hear the Voice of the Charmer, charm he never ſo wiſely.*

Although my Letter be directed to you, Mr. *Harding*, yet I intend it for all my Countrymen. I have no Intereſt in this Affair, but what is common to the Publick: I can live better than many others: I have ſome Gold and Silver by me, and a Shop well furniſhed; and ſhall be able to make a Shift when many of my Betters are ſtarving. But I am grieved to ſee the Coldneſs and Indifference of many People with whom I diſcourſe. Some are afraid of a *Proclamation*, others ſhrug up their Shoulders, and cry, What would you have us do? Some give out, there is no Danger at all; others are comforted, that it will be a common Calamity, and they ſhall fare no worſe than their Neighbours. Will a Man, who hears Midnight Robbers at his Door, get out of Bed, and raiſe his Family, for a common Defence; and ſhall a whole Kingdom lie in a Lethargy, while Mr. *Wood* comes, at the Head of his *Con-*

federates,

ſederates, to rob them of all they have, to ruin us and our Poſterity for ever? If any Highwayman meets you on the Road, you give him your Money to ſave your Life; but, GOD be thanked, Mr. *Wood* cannot touch a Hair of your Heads. You have all the Laws of GOD and Man on your Side: When he, or his Accomplices, offer you his Droſs, it is but ſaying *No*, and you are ſafe. If a mad Man ſhould come into my Shop with a handful of Dirt raked out of the Kennel, and offer it in Payment of ten Yards of Stuff, I would pity, or laugh at him; or, if his Behaviour deſerved it, kick him out of my Doors. And if Mr. *Wood* comes to demand my Gold or Silver, or Commodities for which I have paid my Gold and Silver, in Exchange for his Traſh, can he deſerve or expect better Treatment?

When the *evil Day* is come (if it muſt come) let us mark and obſerve thoſe who preſume to offer theſe Half-pence in Payment. Let their Names, and Trades, and Places of Abode, be made publick, that every one may be aware of them, as Betrayers of their Country, and Confederates with Mr. *Wood*. Let them be watched at Markets and Fairs; and let the firſt honeſt Diſcoverer give the Word about, that Mr. *Wood*'s Half-pence have been offered, and caution the poor innocent People not to receive them.

Perhaps I have been too tedious; but there would never be an End, if I attempted to ſay all that this melancholy Subject will bear. I

will conclude with humbly offering one Propoſal; which, if it were put in Practice, would blow up this deſtructive Project at once. Let ſome judicious, ſkilful Pen, draw up an *Advertiſement* to the following Purpoſe:

Whereas *one* William Wood, *Hard-ware-man, now, or lately, ſojourning in the City of* London, *hath, by many Miſrepreſentations, procured a Patent for coining an hundred and eight thouſand Pounds in Copper Half-pence for this Kingdom; which is a Sum five Times greater than our Occaſions require. And whereas it is notorious, that the ſaid* Wood *hath coined his Half-pence of ſuch baſe Metal, and falſe Weight, that they are, at leaſt, ſix Parts in ſeven below the real Value. And whereas we have Reaſon to apprehend, that the ſaid* Wood *may, at any Time hereafter, clandeſtinely coin as many more Half-pence as he pleaſes: And whereas the ſaid Patent neither doth, nor can* oblige *His Majeſty's Subjects to receive the ſaid Half-pence in any Payment, but leaves it to their voluntary Choice; becauſe, by Law, the Subject, cannot be* obliged *to take any Money, except* Gold *or* Silver. *And whereas, contrary to the Letter and Meaning of the ſaid Patent, the ſaid* Wood *hath declared, that every Perſon ſhall be* obliged *to take Five-pence Half-penny of his Coin in every Payment. And whereas the Houſe of Commons, and Privy Council, have ſeverally addreſſed his moſt Sacred Majeſty, repreſenting the ill Conſequences which the ſaid* Coinage *may have upon this Kingdom. And laſtly, whereas it is univerſally*

fully agreed, that the whole Nation, to a Man (except Mr. Wood, *and his* Confederates) *are in the utmoſt Apprehenſions of the ruinous Conſequences that muſt follow from the ſaid* Coinage. *Therefore we whoſe Names are underwritten, being Perſons of conſiderable Eſtates in this Kingdom, and Reſidents therein, do unanimouſly reſolve and declare, that we will never receive one Farthing or Half-penny of the ſaid* Wood's *coining; and that we will direct all our Tenants to refuſe the ſaid Coin from any Perſon whatſoever; of which, that they may not be ignorant, we have ſent them a* Copy *of this* Advertiſement, *to be read to them by our Stewards, Receivers,* &c.

I could wiſh that a Paper of this Nature might be drawn up, and ſigned by two or three hundred principal Gentlemen of this Kingdom; and printed Copies thereof ſent to their ſeveral Tenants. I am deceived if any thing could ſooner defeat this execrable Deſign of *Wood*, and his *Accomplices*. This would immediately give the Alarm, and ſet the Kingdom on their Guard; this would give Courage to the meaneſt Tenant and Cottager. *How long, O Lord, righteous and true,* &c.

I muſt tell you in particular, Mr. *Harding*, that you are much to blame. Several hundred Perſons have enquired at your Houſe for my *Letter to the Shopkeepers*, &c. and you had none to ſell them. Pray keep yourſelf provided with that Letter, and with this:

You have got very well by the former; but I did not then write for your Sake, any more than I do now. Pray advertiſe both in every News-Paper; and let it not be your Fault or mine, if our Countrymen will not take Warning. I deſire you likewiſe to ſell them as cheap as you can.

I am your Servant,

Aug. 4. 1724.

M. B.

LET-

LETTER III.

Some OBSERVATIONS upon a Paper, called, *The Report of the Committee of the moſt Honourable the Privy Council in* England, *relating to* Wood's *Half-pence.*

To the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom of IRELAND.

HAVING already written *two Letters* to the People of my own Level and Condition, and having now very preſſing Occaſion for writing a *third*; I thought I could not more properly addreſs it than to your *Lordſhips* and *Worſhips*.

The Occaſion is this: A printed Paper was ſent to me on the 18th Inſtant, entitled, *A* Report *of the Committee of the Lords of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable* Privy Council *in* England *relating to Mr.* Wood's *Half-pence and Farthings*. There is no Mention made where the Paper was printed; but I ſuppoſe it to have been in *Dublin*: And I have been told, that the Copy did not come over in the *Gazette*, but in the *London Journal*, or ſome other Print of no Authority or Conſequence. And, for any

thing that legally appears to the contrary, it may be a Contrivance to *fright* us; or a *Project* of ſome *Printer*, who hath a mind to make a Penny, by publiſhing ſomething upon a Subject, which now employs all our Thoughts in this *Kingdom*. Mr. *Wood*, in publiſhing this Paper, would inſinuate to the World, as if the *Committee* had a greater Concern for his Credit, and private Emolument, than for the Honour of the *Privy Council*, and both *Houſes of Parliament* here, and for the Quiet and Welfare of this whole Kingdom; for it ſeems intended a Vindication of Mr. *Wood*, not without ſeveral ſevere Reflections on the Houſes of *Lords* and *Commons* of *Ireland*.

The whole is indeed written with the Turn and Air of a Pamphlet; as if it were a Diſpute between *William Wood*, on the one Part, and the *Lords Juſtices*, *Privy Council*, and *both Houſes of Parliament* on the other: The Deſign of it being to clear *William Wood*, and to charge the other Side with caſting raſh and groundleſs Aſperſions upon him.

But if it be really what the Title imports, Mr. *Wood* hath treated the *Committee* with great Rudeneſs, by publiſhing an Act of theirs in ſo unbecoming a Manner, without their Leave, and before it was communicated to the *Government* and *Privy Council* of *Ireland*; to whom the Committee adviſed that it ſhould be tranſmitted. But, with all Deference be it ſpoken, I do not conceive that a Report of a Committee of the Council in *England* is *hitherto* a Law in either

either *Kingdom*; and, until any Point is determined to be a Law, it remains diſputable by every Subject.

This (may it pleaſe your *Lordſhips* and *Worſhips*) may ſeem a ſtrange way of diſcourſing in an *illiterate Shopkeeper*. I have endeavoured (although without the Help of Books) to improve that ſmall Portion of Reaſon which GOD hath been pleaſed to give me; and, when Reaſon plainly appears before me, I cannot turn away my Head from it. Thus, for Inſtance, if any Lawyer ſhould tell me that ſuch a Point were Law, from which many groſs, palpable Abſurdities muſt follow; I would not, I could not believe him. If Sir *Edward Coke* ſhould poſitively aſſert, (which he no where does, but the direct contrary) that a *limited Prince* could, by his *Prerogative*, oblige his Subjects to take half an Ounce of Lead, ſtamped with his Image, for twenty Shillings in Gold, I ſhould ſwear he was *deceived*, or a *Deceiver*; becauſe a Power like that would leave the whole Lives and Fortunes of the People entirely at the Mercy of the Monarch; yet this, in Effect, is what *Wood* hath advanced in ſome of his Papers; and what ſuſpicious People may poſſibly apprehend from ſome Paſſages in that which is called the *Report*.

That Paper mentions *ſuch Perſons to have been examined, who were* deſirous *and* willing *to be heard upon this Subject*. I am told they were four in all, *Coleby*, *B---*, Mr. *Finley* the Banker, and one more, whoſe Name I know not.

not. The firſt of theſe was tried for robbing the Treaſury in *Ireland:* and, although he was aquitted for Want of legal Proof, yet every Perſon in the Court believed him to be guilty.

But, ſince I have gone ſo far as to mention particular Perſons, it may be ſome Satisfaction to know who is this *Wood* himſelf, that has the Honour to have a whole Kingdom at his Mercy for almoſt two Years together. I find he is, in the Patent, entitled *Eſquire*, although he were underſtood to be only a *Hard-ware-man*; and ſo I have been bold to call him in my former Letters; however, a *'Squire* he is, not only by Virtue of his Patent, but by having been a Collector in *Shropſhire*; where, pretending to have been robbed, and ſuing the County, he was caſt, and for the Infamy of the Fact, loſt his Employment.

I have heard another Story of this 'Squire *Wood*, from a very honourable Lady, that one *Hamilton* told her. *Hamilton* was ſent for, ſix Years ago, by Sir *Iſaac Newton*, to try the Coinage of four Men, who then ſolicited a Patent for coining Half-pence for *Ireland*; their Names were *Wood*, *Coſtor*, *Elliſton*, and *Parker*. *Parker* made the faireſt Offer, and *Wood* the worſt; for his Coin were three Half-pence in a Pound Weight leſs Value than the other. By which it is plain, with what Intentions he ſolicited his Patent, but not ſo plain how he obtained it.

It is alledged, in the ſaid Paper called the *Report*, that upon repeated Orders from a Secretary of State for ſending over ſuch Papers and Witneſſes as ſhould be thought proper to ſupport the Objections made againſt the Patent (by both Houſes of Parliament;) the *Lord Lieutenant* repreſented *the great Difficulty he found himſelf in, to comply with theſe Orders: That none of the principal Members of both Houſes who were in the King's Service, or Council, would take upon them to adviſe how any material Perſon, or Papers, might be ſent over on this Occaſion, &c.* And this is often repeated, and repreſented as *a Proceeding that ſeems very extraordinary; and that in a Matter which had raiſed ſo great a* Clamour *in* Ireland, *no one Perſon could be prevailed upon to come over from* Ireland, *in Support of the united Senſe of both Houſes of Parliament in* Ireland; *eſpecially that the chief Difficulty ſhould ariſe from a general Apprehenſion of a Miſcarriage, in an Enquiry before his Majeſty, or in a Proceeding by due Courſe of Law, in a Caſe where both Houſes of Parliament had declared themſelves ſo fully convinced, and ſatisfied upon Evidence, and Examinations taken in the moſt ſolemn manner.*

How ſhall I, a poor ignorant Shopkeeper, utterly unſkilled in Law, be able to anſwer ſo weighty an Objection? I will try what can be done by plain Reaſon, unaſſiſted by Art, Cunning, or Eloquence.

In my humble Opinion the Committee of Council hath already prejudged the whole Caſe, by

by calling the united Senſe of both *Houſes of Parliament* in *Ireland*, an *univerſal Clamour*. Here the Addreſſes of the Lords and Commons of *Ireland* againſt a ruinous, deſtructive Project of an *obſcure*, *ſingle Undertaker*, is called a *Clamour*. I deſire to know how ſuch a Style would be reſented in *England*, from a Committee of Council there to a Parliament; and how many *Impeachments* would follow upon it? But ſuppoſing the Appellation to be proper, I never heard of a wiſe Miniſter, who deſpiſed the *univerſal Clamour* of a People; and if that *Clamour* can be quieted by diſappointing the fraudulent Practices of a ſingle Perſon, the Purchaſe is not exorbitant.

But in Anſwer to this Objection: Firſt, it is manifeſt, that if this Coinage had been in *Ireland*, with ſuch Limitations as have been formerly ſpecified in other Patents, and granted to Perſons of this *Kingdom*, or even of *England*, able to give ſufficient Security, few or no Inconveniencies could have happened, which might not have been immediately remedied. As to Mr. *Knox's* Patent, mentioned in the *Report*, Security was given into the *Exchequer*, that the *Patentee* ſhould, upon all Demands, be obliged to receive his *Half-pence* back, and pay Gold or Silver in Exchange for them. And Mr. *Moor*, (to whom, I ſuppoſe, that Patent was made over) was, in 1694, forced to leave off coining before the End of that Year, by the great Crouds of People continually offering to return his Coinage upon him. In 1698 he coined

coined again, and was forced to give over for the ſame Reaſon. This entirely alters the Caſe; for there is no ſuch Condition in *Wood*'s Patent; which Condition was worth a hundred times all other Limitations whatſoever.

Put the Caſe, that the two Houſes of *Lords* and *Commons* of *England*, and the *Privy Council* there, ſhould addreſs His Majeſty to recal a *Patent*, from whence they apprehended the moſt ruinous Conſequences to the whole Kingdom; and, to make it ſtronger, if poſſible, that the whole Nation, almoſt to a Man, ſhould thereupon diſcover the *moſt diſmal Apprehenſions* (as Mr. *Wood* ſtyles them;) would His Majeſty debate half an Hour what he had to do? Would any Miniſter dare adviſe him againſt recalling ſuch a Patent? or would the Matter be referred to the *Privy Council*, or to *Weſtminſter-Hall*; the two Houſes of *Parliament* Plaintiffs, and *William Wood* Defendant? And is there even the ſmalleſt Difference between the two Caſes?

Were not the People of *Ireland* born as *free* as thoſe of *England*? How have they forfeited their Freedom? Is not their *Parliament* as fair a *Repreſentative* of the *People* as that of *England*? And hath not their Privy Council as great, or a greater Share in the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs? Are not they Subjects of the ſame King? Does not the ſame *Sun* ſhine upon them? And have they not the ſame GOD for their Protector? Am I a *Freeman* in *England*, and do I become a *Slave* in ſix Hours, by croſſing the Channel? No wonder then if the boldeſt

boldeſt Perſons were cautious to interpoſe in a Matter already determined by the whole Voice of the Nation; or to preſume to repreſent the Repreſentatives of the Kingdom; and were juſtly apprehenſive of meeting ſuch a Treatment as they would deſerve, at the next Seſſion. It would ſeem very extraordinary if an inferior Court in *England* ſhould take a Matter out of the Hands of the High Court of Parliament, during a Prorogation, and decide it againſt the Opinion of both Houſes.

It happens, however, that, although no Perſons were ſo bold as to go over as Evidences, to prove the Truth of the Objections made againſt this *Patent* by the *High Court of Parliament* here, yet theſe Objections ſtand good, notwithſtanding the Anſwers made by Mr. *Wood* and his *Council*.

The *Report* ſays, that, *upon an Aſſay made of the Fineneſs, Weight, and Value of this Copper, it exceeded in every Article.* This is poſſible enough in the Pieces upon which the *Aſſay* was made; but *Wood* muſt have failed very much in point of Dexterity, if he had not taken Care to provide a ſufficient Quantity of ſuch *Halfpence* as would bear the Trial; which he was well able to do, although *they were taken out of ſeveral Parcels*; ſince it is now plain, that the Bias of Favour hath been wholly on his Side.

But what need is there of diſputing, when we have a poſitive Demonſtration of *Wood*'s fraudulent Practices in this Point. I have ſeen a large

a large Quantity of these *Half-pence* weighed by a very skilful Person, which were of four different Kinds, three of them considerably under Weight. I have now before me an exact Computation of the Difference of Weight between these four Sorts; by which it appears, that the fourth Sort, or the lightest, differs from the first to a Degree, that, in the Coinage of three hundred and sixty Tons of Copper, the *Patentee* will be a Gainer, only by that Difference, of twenty-four thousand four hundred and ninety-four Pounds; and, in the whole, the Publick will be a Loser of eighty-two thousand one hundred and sixty-eight Pounds, sixteen Shillings, even supposing the Metal, in point of Goodness, to answer *Wood*'s Contract, and the *Assay* that hath been made, which it infallibly doth not. For this Point hath likewise been enquired into by very experienced Men; who, upon several Trials on many of these *Half-pence*, have found them to be at least one fourth part below the real Value, not including the *Raps* or *Counterfeits* that he, or his *Accomplices*, have already made of *his own Coin*, and scattered about. Now the Coinage of three hundred and sixty Tons of Copper, coined by the Weight of the fourth, or lightest Sort of his *Half-pence*, will amount to one hundred twenty-two thousand four hundred eighty-eight Pounds, sixteen Shillings; and, if we substract a fourth part of the real Value by the *base Mixture* in the Metal, we must add to the publick Loss one fourth part, to be substracted from the in-

trinſick Value of the Copper; which, in three hundred and ſixty Tons, amounts to ten thouſand and eighty Pounds; and this, added to the former Sum of eighty-two thouſand one hundred ſixty-eight Pounds, ſixteen Shillings, will make in all, ninety-two thouſand two hundred and forty-eight Pounds Loſs to the Publick; beſides the *Raps* or *Counterfeits* that he may, at any Time hereafter, think fit to coin. Nor do I know whether he reckons the *Droſs* excluſive or incluſive with his three hundred and ſixty Tons of Copper; which, however, will make a conſiderable Difference in the Account.

You will here pleaſe to obſerve, that the Profit allowed to *Wood* by the Patent, is Twelve-pence out of every Pound of Copper, valued at 1 *s.* 6 *d.* whereas 5 *d.* only is allowed for Coinage of a Pound Weight for the *Engliſh Half-pence*; and this Difference is almoſt 25 *per Cent.* which is double to the higheſt Exchange of Money, even under all the additional Preſſures, and Obſtructions to Trade, that this unhappy Kingdom lies at preſent. This one Circumſtance, in the Coinage of Three hundred and ſixty Tons of Copper, makes a Difference of twenty-ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty Pounds, between *Engliſh* and *Iriſh Half-pence*, even allowing thoſe of *Wood* to be all of the heavieſt ſort.

It is likewiſe to be conſidered, that, for every *Half-penny* in a Pound Weight, exceeding the Number directed by the Patent, *Wood* will be

a Gainer

a Gainer, in the Coinage of three hundred and ſixty Tons of Copper, ſixteen hundred and eighty Pounds Profit more than the Patent allows him; out of which he may afford to make his *Comptrollers eaſy* upon that Article.

As to what is alledged, that *theſe Half-pence far exceed the like Coinage for* Ireland *in the Reigns of His Majeſty's Predeceſſors:* There cannot well be a more exceptionable Way of arguing, although the Fact were true; which, however, is altogether miſtaken; not by any Fault in the *Committee*, but by the Fraud and Impoſition of *Wood*, who certainly produced the worſt Patterns he could find; ſuch as were coined in ſmall Numbers by *Permiſſions to private Men*, as *Butchers Half-pence*, *Black-dogs*, and the like; or, perhaps, the ſmall St. *Patrick*'s Coin, which paſſeth now for a Farthing; or, at beſt, ſome of the ſmalleſt *Raps* of the lateſt Kind. For I have now by me ſome *Half-pence* coined in the Year 1680, by Virtue of the Patent granted to my Lord *Dartmouth*, which was renewed to *Knox*, and they are heavier by a ninth Part than thoſe of *Wood*, and of much better Metal; and the great St. *Patrick*'s *Half-pence* are yet larger than either.

But what is all this to the preſent Debate? If under the various Exigencies of former Times, by Wars, Rebellions, and Inſurrections, the Kings of *England* were ſometimes forced to pay their Armies here with mixt or baſe Money; GOD forbid that the Neceſſities

of turbulent Times ſhould be a Precedent for Times of Peace, and Order, and Settlement.

In the *Patent* abovementioned, granted to Lord *Dartmouth*, in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, and renewed to *Knox*, the Securities given into the *Exchequer*, obliging the *Patentee* to receive his Money back upon every Demand, were an effectual Remedy againſt all Inconveniencies: And the *Copper was coined in our Kingdom*; ſo that we were in no Danger to purchaſe it with the Loſs of all our Silver and Gold carried over to another; nor to be at the Trouble of going to *England* for the redreſſing any Abuſe.

That the Kings of *England* have exerciſed their Prerogative of coining Copper for *Ireland*, and for *England*, is not the preſent Queſtion: But (to ſpeak in the Style of the *Report*) it would *ſeem a little extraordinary*, ſuppoſing a King ſhould think fit to exerciſe his *Prerogative*, by coining Copper in *Ireland* to be current in *England*, without referring it to his Officers in that Kingdom, to be informed whether the Grant were reaſonable, and whether the People deſired it or no, and without regard to the Addreſſes of his Parliament againſt it. GOD forbid that ſo mean a Man as I ſhould meddle with the King's *Prerogative*: But I have heard very wiſe Men ſay, that the King's *Prerogative* is bounded and limited by the *Good* and *Welfare* of his *People*. I deſire to know whether it be not underſtood and avowed, that the Good of *Ireland* was intended by that *Patent?* But

Ireland

Ireland is not conſulted at all in the Matter; and, as ſoon as *Ireland* is informed of it, they declare againſt it; the *two Houſes of Parliament*, and the *Privy Council*, addreſs his Majeſty upon the Miſchiefs apprehended by ſuch a *Patent*. The *Privy Council* in *England* take the Matter out of the *Parliament*'s Cognizance; the Good of the Kingdom is dropt, and it is now determined, that Mr. *Wood* ſhall have the Power of ruining a whole Nation for his private Advantage.

I never can fupppoſe, that ſuch *Patents* as theſe were originally granted with a View of being a *Jobb*, for the Intereſt of a particular Perſon to the Damage of the Publick. Whatever Profit muſt ariſe to the *Patentee*, was ſurely meant at beſt but as a ſecondary Motive; and ſince ſomebody muſt be a Gainer, the Choice of the Perſon was made either by Favour, or *ſomething elſe*, or by the Pretence of Merit and Honeſty. This Argument returns ſo often and ſtrongly into my Head, that I cannot forbear frequently repeating it. Surely His Majeſty, when he conſented to the paſſing of this *Patent*, *conceived* he was doing an Act of Grace to his moſt loyal Subjects of *Ireland* without any Regard to Mr. *Wood*, farther than as an *Inſtrument*: But the People of *Ireland*, think this *Patent* (intended, *no doubt*, for their Good) to be a moſt intolerable Grievance; and therefore Mr. *Wood* can never ſucceed, without an open Avowal, that his Profit is preferred, not only before the *Intereſt*, but the very *Safety* and *Being* of a great Kingdom; di-

ſtinguiſhed for its Loyalty perhaps above all others upon Earth; not turned from its Duty by the *Juriſdiction of the Houſe of Lords aboliſhed at a Stroke, by the Hardſhips of the Act of Navigation newly enforced, by all poſſible Obſtructions in Trade*; and by a hundred other Inſtances, enough to fill this Paper; nor was there ever among us the leaſt Attempt towards an Inſurrection in Favour of the *Pretender*. Therefore whatever Juſtice a *free People* can claim, we have at leaſt an equal Title to it with our Brethren in *England*; and whatever Grace a good Prince can beſtow on the moſt *loyal Subjects*, we have Reaſon to expect it: neither has this Kingdom any way deſerved to be ſacrificed to one *ſingle, rapacious, obſcure, ignominious* Projector.

Among other Clauſes mentioned in this *Patent*, to ſhew how advantageous it is to *Ireland*, there is one which ſeems to be of a *ſingular Nature*: That the *Patentee* ſhall be obliged, during his Term, *to pay eight hundred Pounds a Year to the Crown, and two hundred Pounds a Year to the Comptroller*. I have heard indeed that the King's Council do always conſider, in the paſſing of a *Patent*, whether it will be of Advantage to the Crown; but I have likewiſe heard that it is at the ſame Time conſidered, whether paſſing it may be injurious to any other Perſons or Bodies politick? However, although the *Attorney* and *Solicitor* be Servants to the King, and therefore bound to conſult His Majeſty's Intereſt; yet I am under ſome Doubt,

Doubt, whether eight hundred Pounds a Year to the Crown would be equivalent to the Ruin of a Kingdom. It would be far better for us to have paid eight thouſand Pounds a Year into his Majeſty's Coffers, in the midſt of all our Taxes (which, in proportion, are greater in this Kingdom than ever they were in *England*, even during the War) than purchaſe ſuch an Addition to the Revenue at the Price of our *utter Undoing*.

But here it is plain, that fourteen thouſand Pounds are to be paid by *Wood*, only as a *ſmall, circumſtantial* Charge for the Purchaſe of his *Patent*: What were his other *viſible Coſts* I know not, and what were his *latent*, is variouſly conjectured; but he muſt be ſurely a Man of ſome wonderful Merit. Hath he ſaved any other Kingdom at his own Expence, to give him a Title of re-imburſing himſelf by the *Deſtruction* of ours? Hath he diſcovered the *Longitude*, or the *univerſal Medicine*? No; but he hath found the *Philoſopher's Stone* after a new Manner, by *debaſing* of *Copper*, and reſolving to force it upon us for *Gold*.

When the two Houſes repreſented to His Majeſty, that this *Patent to* Wood *was obtained in a clandeſtine Manner*, ſurely the Committee could not think the Parliament would inſinuate, that it had not paſſed in the common Forms, and run through every Office where Fees and Perquiſites were due. They knew very well, that Perſons in Places were no Enemies to Grants; and that the Officers of the

Crown

Crown could not be kept in the dark. But the late * *Lord Lieutenant of Ireland* affirmed it was a *Secret* to him; and who will doubt of his *Veracity*, eſpecially when he ſwore to a Perſon of Quality, from whom I had it, that *Ireland* ſhould never be troubled with theſe *Half-pence*. It was a *Secret* to the People of *Ireland*, who were to be the *only Sufferers*; and thoſe who beſt knew the State of the Kingdom, and were moſt able to adviſe in ſuch an Affair, were wholly Strangers to it.

It is allowed by the *Report*, that this *Patent* was paſſed without the Knowledge of the Chief Governor, or Officers of *Ireland*: And it is there elaborately ſhewn, that *former Patents have paſſed in the ſame Manner, and are good in Law*. I ſhall not diſpute the Legality of *Patents*, but am ready to ſuppoſe it in His Majeſty's Power to grant a *Patent* for ſtamping round Bits of Copper to every Subject he hath. Therefore to lay aſide the Point of Law, I would only put the queſtion, Whether in *Reaſon* and *Juſtice*, it would not have been proper, in an Affair upon which the *Welfare of the Kingdom depends*, that the ſaid Kingdom ſhould have received timely Notice; and the Matter not be carried on between the *Patentee* and the *Officers of the Crown*, who were to be the only Gainers by it.

The *Parliament*, who, in Matters of this Nature, are the moſt able and faithful Coun-

* *Duke of* Grafton.

ſellors,

ſellors, did repreſent this Grant to be *deſtructive of Trade, and dangerous to the Properties of the People*: To which the only Anſwer is, That *the King hath a Prerogative to make ſuch a Grant*.

It is aſſerted, that, in the Patent to *Knox*, his *Half-pence are made and declared the current Coin of the Kingdom*; whereas, in this to *Wood*, there is only a *Power given to iſſue them to ſuch as will receive them*. The Authors of the *Report*, I think, do not affirm, that the King can, by *Law*, declare *any thing* to be current Money, by his Letters Patents. I dare ſay they will not affirm it; and if *Knox's* Patent contained in it Powers contrary to Law, why is it mentioned as a Precedent in his Majeſty's *juſt and merciful Reign?* But although that Clauſe be not in *Wood's* Patent, yet poſſibly there are others, the Legality whereof may be equally doubted; and particularly that, whereby *a Power is given to* William Wood *to break into Houſes in Search of any Coin made in Imitation of his*. This may perhaps be affirmed to be illegal and dangerous to the Liberty of the Subject; yet this is a *Precedent* taken from *Knox's* Patent, where the ſame Power is granted; and is a ſtrong Inſtance what Uſes may be ſometimes made of *Precedents*.

But although, before the paſſing of this Patent, it was not thought neceſſary to conſult any Perſons of this Kingdom, or make the leaſt Enquiry, whether Copper Money were wanting among us; yet now at length, when the Matter is over, when the Patent hath long paſſed, when

when *Wood* hath already coined ſeventeen thouſand Pounds, and hath his Tools and Implements prepared to coin *ſix times* as much more, the Committee hath been pleaſed to make this Affair the Subject of Enquiry; *Wood* is permitted to produce his Evidences, which conſiſt, as I have already obſerved, of four in Number, whereof *Colby*, *B----*, and Mr. *Finley* the Banker, are three. And theſe were to prove, that Copper Money was extremely wanted in *Ireland*. The firſt had been out of the Kingdom almoſt twenty Years, from the Time that he was tried for *robbing the Treaſury*; and therefore his *Knowledge* and *Credibility* are equal.

Mr. *Finley*, one of the other Witneſſes, honeſtly confeſſed, that he was ignorant whether *Ireland* wanted Copper Money or no; but his whole Intention was, to buy a certain Quantity from *Wood*, at a *large Diſcount*, and ſell them as well as he could; by which he hoped to get two or three thouſand Pounds for himſelf.

But ſuppoſe there were not one ſingle Halfpenny of Copper Coin in this whole Kingdom (which Mr. *Wood* ſeems to intend, unleſs we will come to his Terms, as appears by employing his Emiſſaries to buy up our old ones, at a Penny in the Shilling more than they paſs for) it could not be any *real Evil* to us, although it might be ſome *Inconvenience*. We have many Sorts of ſmall Silver Coins, to which they are Strangers in *England*; ſuch as the *French Three-pences*, *Four-pence Half-pennies*, and *Eight-pence Farthings*, the *Scotch Five-pences* and

and *Ten-pences*, beſides their *Twenty-pences* and *Three* and *Four-pences*, by which we are able to make Change, to a Half-penny, of almoſt any Piece of Gold or Silver; and if we were driven to the Expedient of a *Sealed Card*, with the little Gold and Silver ſtill remaining, it will, I ſuppoſe, be ſomewhat better, than to have nothing left but *Wood's* adulterated Copper, which he is neither *obliged* by his *Patent*, nor HITHERTO *able* by his *Eſtate*, to make good.

The *Report* farther tells us, it *muſt be admitted, that Letters Patents, under the Great Seal of* Great Britain, *for coining Copper Money for* Ireland, *are legal and obligatory, a juſt and reaſonable Exerciſe of His Majeſty's Royal Prerogative, and in no Manner derogatory or invaſive of any Liberty or Privilege of his Subjects of* Ireland. Firſt, we deſire to know, why His Majeſty's *Prerogative* might not have been as well aſſerted, by paſſing his Patent in *Ireland*, and ſubjecting the ſeveral Conditions of the Contract to the Inſpection of thoſe who are only concerned, as was formerly done in the only Precedents for Patents granted for coining for this Kingdom, ſince the mixt Money in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, during the Difficulties of a Rebellion: Whereas now, upon the greateſt Impoſition that can poſſibly be practiſed, we muſt go to *England* with our Complaints; where it hath been, for ſome Time, the Faſhion to think, and to affirm, that *we cannot be too hardly uſed*. Again, the *Report* ſays, that *ſuch Patents are obligatory*. After long

thinking

thinking, I am not able to find out what can poſſibly be meant here by this Word *obligatory*. This Patent of *Wood* neither *obligeth* him to utter his Coin, nor us to take it; or, if it did the latter, it would be ſo far void, becauſe no Patent can *oblige* the Subject againſt Law; unleſs an illegal Patent paſſed in *one* Kingdom, can bind *another*, and not itſelf.

Laſtly, it is added, that *ſuch Patents are in no Manner derogatory, or invaſive of any Liberty or Privilege of the King's Subjects of* Ireland. If this Propoſition be true, as it is here laid down, without any Limitation, either expreſſed or implied; it muſt follow, that a King of *England* may, at any Time, coin Copper Money for *Ireland*, and oblige his Subjects here to take a Piece of Copper, under the Value of half a Farthing, for half a Crown, as was practiſed by the late King *James*; and even without that arbitrary Prince's Excuſe, from the Neceſſity and Exigencies of his Affairs. If this be in no manner *derogatory, nor invaſive of any Liberties, or Privileges of the Subjects of* Ireland, it ought to have been expreſſed what our *Liberties* and *Privileges* are, and whether we have any at all; for, in ſpecifying the Word *Ireland*, inſtead of ſaying *His Majeſty's Subjects*, it would ſeem to inſinuate, that we are not upon the ſame Foot with our Fellow-Subjects in *England*; which, however the Practice may have been, I hope will never be directly aſſerted; for I do not underſtand that *Poining*'s Act deprived us of our *Liberty*, but only changed

changed the Manner of paſſing Laws here; (which, however, was a Power moſt indirectly obtained) by leaving the Negative to the two Houſes of Parliament. But, waving all Controverſies relating to the Legiſlature, no Perſon, I believe, was ever ſo bold as to affirm, that the People of *Ireland* have not the ſame Title to the Benefits of the *Common Law* with the reſt of his Majeſty's Subjects; and therefore, whatever Liberties or Privileges the People of *England* enjoy by *common Law*, we of *Ireland* have the ſame; ſo that, in my humble Opinion, the Word *Ireland* ſtanding in that Propoſition, was, in the mildeſt Interpretation, a *Lapſe of the Pen.*

The *Report* farther aſſerts, that *the Precedents are many, wherein Caſes of great Importance to* Ireland, *and which immediately affected the Intereſts of that Kingdom; ſuch as Warrants, Orders, and Directions, by the Authority of the* King *and his* Predeceſſors, *have been iſſued under the Royal Sign Manual, without any previous Reference or Advice of His Majeſty's Officers of* Ireland, *which have always had their due Force, and have been punctually complied with, and obeyed.* It may be ſo, and I am heartily ſorry for it; becauſe it may prove an eternal Source of Diſcontent. However, among all theſe *Precedents*, there is not one of a Patent for coining Money for *Ireland.*

There is nothing hath perplexed me more than this Doctrine of *Precedents.* If a Jobb

is to be done, and, upon ſearching Records, you find it hath been done before, there will not want a Lawyer to juſtify the Legality of it by producing his *Precedents*; without ever conſidering the Motives and Circumſtances that firſt introduced them; the Neceſſity, or Turbulence, or Iniquity of Times; the Corruptions of Miniſters, or the arbitrary Diſpoſition of the Prince then reigning. And I have been told, by Perſons eminent in the Law, that the worſt Actions which human Nature is capable of may be juſtified by the ſame Doctrine. How the firſt *Precedents* began of determining Caſes of the higheſt Importance to *Ireland*, and immediately affecting its Intereſts, without any previous Reference or Advice to the King's Officers here, may ſoon be accounted for. Before this Kingdom was entirely reduced by the Submiſſion of *Tyrone*, in the laſt Year of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, there was a Period of four hundred Years, which was a various Scene of War and Peace between the *Engliſh* Pale and the *Iriſh* Natives; and the Government of that Part of this Iſland which lay in the *Engliſh* Hands, was, in many Things, under the immediate Adminiſtration of the King: Silver and Copper were often coined here among us; and once, at leaſt, upon great Neceſſity, a mixt or baſe Metal was ſent from *England*. The Reign of King *James* I. was employed in ſettling the Kingdom after *Tyrone*'s Rebellion; and this Nation flouriſhed extremely till the Time of the Maſſacre,

Maſſacre, 1641. In that difficult Juncture of Affairs the Nobility and Gentry coined their own Plate here in *Dublin*.

By all that I can diſcover, the Copper Coin of *Ireland*, for three hundred Years paſt, conſiſted of ſmall Pence and Half-pence; which particular Men had Licence to coin, and were current only within certain Towns and Diſtricts, according to the perſonal Credit of the Owner who uttered them, and was bound to receive them again; whereof I have ſeen many Sorts: Neither have I heard of any Patent granted for coining Copper for *Ireland*, till the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, which was in the Year 1680, to *George Legg* Lord *Dartmouth*; and renewed by King *James* the Second, in the firſt Year of his Reign, to *John Knox*. Both Patents were paſſed in *Ireland*; and in both, the Patentees were bound to receive their Coin again from any that would offer them twenty Shillings of it, for which they were obliged to pay Gold or Silver.

The Patents, both of Lord *Dartmouth* and *Knox*, were referred to the Attorney General here, and a Report made accordingly; and both, as I have already ſaid, were paſſed in this Kingdom. *Knox* had only a Patent for the Remainder of the Term granted to Lord *Dartmouth*; the Patent expired in 1701, and, upon a Petition by *Roger Moor* to have it renewed, the Matter was referred hither; and, upon the Report of the Attorney and Solicitor, that it was not for his Majeſty's Service, or the

Intereſt of the Nation to have it renewed, it was rejected by King *William*. It ſhould therefore ſeem very *extraordinary*, that a Patent for coining Copper Half-pence, intended and profeſſed for the Good of the Kingdom, ſhould be paſſed without once conſulting that Kingdom, for the Good of which it is declared to be intended; and this upon the Application of a *poor*, *private*, *obſcure Mechanick*; and a Patent of ſuch a Nature, that, as ſoon as ever the Kingdom is informed of its being paſſed, they cry out unanimouſly againſt it, as *ruinous* and *deſtructive*. The Repreſentatives of the Nation in Parliament, and the Privy Council, addreſſed the King to have it recalled; yet the *Patentee*, ſuch a one as I have deſcribed, ſhall prevail to have this Patent approved; and his private Intereſt ſhall weigh down the Application of a whole Kingdom. St. *Paul* ſays, *All Things are* lawful, *but all Things are not* expedient. We are anſwered, that this Patent is *lawful*; but is it *expedient?* We read, that the High Prieſt ſaid, *It was expedient that one Man ſhould die for the People*; and this was a moſt wicked Propoſition. But that a *whole Nation* ſhould *die for one Man*, was never heard of before.

But becauſe much Weight is laid on the *Precedents* of other Patents for *coining Copper* for *Ireland*, I will ſet this Matter in as clear a Light as I can. Whoever hath read the *Report*, will be apt to think that a dozen Precedents, at leaſt, could be produced of Copper coined

coined for *Ireland*, by Virtue of Patents paſſed in *England*; and that the Coinage was there too; whereas, I am confident, there cannot be one *Precedent* ſhewn of a Patent paſſed in *England* for coining Copper for *Ireland*, for above an hundred Years paſt; and if there were any before, it muſt be in Times of Confuſion. The only *Patents* I could ever hear of, are thoſe already mentioned, to Lord *Dartmouth* and *Knox*, the former in 1680, and the latter in 1685. Now let us compare theſe Patents with that granted to *Wood*. Firſt, the Patent to *Knox*, which was under the ſame Conditions as that granted to Lord *Dartmouth*, was paſſed in *Ireland*; the Government, and the *Attorney* and *Solicitor General* making Report, that it would be uſeful to this Kingdom.

The Patent was paſſed with the Advice of the *King's Council* here; the *Patentee* was obliged to receive his Coin from thoſe who thought themſelves ſurcharged, and to give *Gold* and *Silver* for it. Laſtly, the *Patentee* was to pay only 16 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d. per Annum* to the Crown. Then, as to the Execution of that Patent: Firſt, I find the *Half-pence* were *milled*; which, as it is of great Uſe to prevent Counterfeits, (and therefore induſtriouſly avoided by *Wood*,) ſo it was an Addition to the Charge of Coinage. And as for the Weight and Goodneſs of the Metal, I have ſeveral *Half-pence* now by me, many of which weigh a ninth Part more than thoſe coined by *Wood*; and bear the Fire and Hammer a great deal bet-

ter, and, which is no Trifle, the Impreſſion fairer and deeper. I grant indeed, that many of the latter Coinage yield in Weight to ſome of *Wood*'s, by a *Fraud* natural to ſuch *Patentees*; but not ſo immediately after the Grant, and before the Coin grew current; for, in this Circumſtance, Mr. *Wood* muſt ſerve for a *Precedent* in *future Times*.

Let us now examine this new Patent granted to *William Wood*. It paſſed upon very falſe Suggeſtions of his own, and of a few Confederates: It paſſed in *England* without the leaſt Reference hither; it paſſed unknown to the very *Lord Lieutenant*, then in *England*. *Wood* is impowered to coin one hundred and eight thouſand Pounds, *and all the* Officers *in the Kingdom* (Civil and Military) *are commanded* in the Report to *countenance and aſſiſt him*. *Knox* had only Power to utter what he would take, and was obliged *to receive his Coin back again at our Demand*, and to *enter into Security for ſo doing*. *Wood*'s Half-pence are not *milled*, and therefore more eaſily counterfeited by *himſelf*, as well as by others. *Wood* pays a thouſand Pounds *per Annum* for fourteen Years; *Knox* paid only ſixteen Pounds thirteen Shillings and four-pence *per Annum* for twenty one Years.

It was the *Report* that ſet me the Example of making a Compariſon between thoſe two Patents, wherein the *Committee* was groſly miſled by the falſe Repreſentation of *William Wood*; as it was by another Aſſertion, that ſeven hundred

dred Tons of Copper were coined during the twenty-one Years of Lord *Dartmouth*'s and *Knox*'s Patents. Such a Quantity of Copper, at the Rate of two Shillings and eight Pence *per* Pound, would amount to about an hundred and ninety thouſand Pounds; which was very near as much as the current Caſh of the Kingdom in thoſe Days; yet during that Period, *Ireland* was never known to have too much Copper Coin; and, for ſeveral Years, there was no coining at all: Beſides, I am aſſured, that, upon enquiring into the Cuſtom-houſe-books, all the Copper imported into this Kingdom, from 1683 to 1692, which includes eight Years of the twenty-one (beſides one Year allowed for the Troubles) did not exceed forty ſeven Tons. And we cannot ſuppoſe even that ſmall Quantity to have been wholly applied to Coinage: So that I believe there was never any Compariſon more unluckily made, or ſo deſtructive of the Deſign for which it was produced.

The *Pſalmiſt* reckons it an Effect of GOD's Anger, when *he ſelleth his People for Nought, and taketh no Money for them.* That we have greatly offended GOD, by the Wickedneſs of our Lives, is not to diſputed: But our KING we have not offended in Word or Deed; and although he be GOD's Vicegerent upon Earth, he will not puniſh us for any Offences, except thoſe we ſhall commit againſt his legal Authority, his ſacred Perſon (which GOD preſerve) or the Laws of the Land.

The

The *Report* is very profuſe in Argument, that *Ireland* is in great Want of Copper Money: Who were the Witneſſes to prove it, hath been ſhewn already: But, in the Name of GOD, who are to be *Judges?* Does not the Nation beſt known its own Wants? Both Houſes of *Parliament*, the *Privy Council*, and the whole Body of the People, declare the contrary. Or, let the Wants be what they will, we deſire they may not be ſupplied by Mr. *Wood*: We know our Wants but too well; they are *many* and *grievous* to be borne, but quite of another kind. Let *England* be ſatisfied: As things go, they will, in a ſhort Time, have all our Gold and Silver, and may keep their adulterate Copper at home; for we are determined not to purchaſe it with our Manufactures, which *Wood* hath graciouſly offered to accept. Our *Wants* are not ſo bad by an hundreth Part as the Method he hath taken to ſupply them. He hath already tried his Faculty in *New England*; and I hope he will meet at leaſt with an *equal Reception* here; what *that* was, I leave to publick Intelligence. I am ſuppoſing a wild Caſe; that if there ſhould be any Perſon already receiving a monſtrous Penſion out of this Kingdom, who was inſtrumental in procuring the *Patent*, they have either not well conſulted their own Intereſt, or *Wood* muſt put more Droſs into his Copper, and ſtill diminiſh its Weight.

Upon *Wood*'s Complaint, that the Officers of the KING's Revenue here had already given Orders

Orders to all the inferior Officers, not to receive any of his Coin; the *Report* ſays, That *this cannot but be looked upon as a very extraordinary Proceeding*, and being contrary to the Powers given in the Patent. The *Committee* ſay, They *cannot adviſe His Majeſty to give Directions to the Officers of the Revenue here, not to receive or utter any of the ſaid Coin, as hath been deſired in the Addreſſes of both Houſes*; but on the contrary, they *think it both juſt and reaſonable, that the King ſhould immediately give Orders to the Commiſſioners of the Revenue, &c. to revoke all Orders, &c. that may have been given by them, to hinder or obſtruct the receiving the ſaid Coin.* And accordingly, we are told, ſuch Orders are arrived. Now this was a Caſt of *Wood*'s Politicks; for his Information was wholly falſe and groundleſs, which he knew very well; and that the Commiſſioners of the Revenue here were all, except one, ſent us from *England*, and love their Employments too well to have taken ſuch a Step: But *Wood* was wiſe enough to conſider, that ſuch Orders of *Revocation* would be an open Declaration of the Crown in his Favour, would put the Government here under a Difficulty, would make a Noiſe, and, poſſibly, create ſome Terror in the poor People of *Ireland*. And one great Point he hath gained, that although any Orders of Revocation will be needleſs, yet a new Order is to be ſent, and perhaps is already here, to the Commiſſioners of the Revenue, and all the King's Officers in *Ireland*: That

Wood's

Wood's Half-pence be ſuffered and permitted, without any Let, Suit, Trouble, Moleſtation, or Denial of any of the King's Officers or Miniſters whatſoever, to paſs, and be received as current Money *by ſuch as ſhall be* willing *to receive them.* In this Order there is no Exception; and therefore, as far as I can judge, it includes all *Officers*, both *Civil* and *Military*, from the *Lord High Chancellor* to a *Juſtice of Peace*, and from the *General* to the *Enſign*; ſo that *Wood*'s Project is not likely to fail for Want of *Managers* enough. For my own Part, as things ſtand, I have but little Regret to find myſelf out of the *Number*; and therefore I ſhall continue, in all Humility, to exhort and warn my Fellow-ſubjects never to receive or utter this Coin, which will reduce the Kingdom to Beggary by much *quicker and larger Steps* than have hitherto been taken.

But it is needleſs to argue any longer. The Matter is come to an Iſſue. His Majeſty, *purſuant to the Law*, hath left the *Field* open between *Wood* and the Kingdom of *Ireland*. *Wood* hath Liberty to *offer* his Coin, and we have *Law*, *Reaſon*, *Liberty*, and *Neceſſity* to *refuſe* it. A knaviſh Jockey may ride an old founder'd Jade about the Market, but none are obliged to buy it. I hope the Words *Voluntary*, and *Willing to receive it*, will be underſtood, and applied in their true natural Meaning, as *commonly underſtood by Proteſtants*. For if a *fierce Captain* comes to my Shop to buy ſix Yards of Scarlet Cloth, followed by a Porter laden

laden with a Sack of *Wood*'s Coin upon his Shoulders, if we are agreed about the Price, and my Scarlet lies ready cut upon the Counter; if he then gives me the *Word of Command* to receive my Money in *Wood's Coin*, and calls me a *diſaffected Jacobite Dog*, for refuſing it, (although I am as Loyal a Subject as himſelf, and *without Hire)* and thereupon ſeizes my Cloth, leaving me the Price in this odious Copper, and bids me take my Remedy: In this Caſe I ſhall hardly be brought to think, that I am *left to my own Will*. I ſhall therefore, on ſuch Occaſions, firſt order the Porter aforeſaid to go off with his Pack: and then ſee the Money in *Silver* and *Gold* in my Poſſeſſion before I cut or meaſure my Cloth. But if a *common Soldier* drinks his Pot firſt, and then offers Payment in *Wood's Half-pence*, the *Landlady* may be under ſome Difficulty; for if ſhe complains to his *Captain* or *Enſign*, they are likewiſe *Officers*, included in this general Order for encouraging theſe *Half-pence* to paſs as *Current Money*. If ſhe goes to a *Juſtice of Peace*, he is alſo an *Officer*, to whom this general Order is directed. I do therefore adviſe her to follow my Practice, which I have already begun, and be paid for her Goods before ſhe parts with them. However, I ſhould have been content, for ſome Reaſons, that the *Military Gentlemen* had been excepted by Name; becauſe I have heard it ſaid, that their Diſcipline is beſt confined within their own Diſtrict.

His

His Majeſty, in the Concluſion of his Anſwer to the Addreſs of the Houſe of Lords againſt *Wood*'s Coin, is pleaſed to ſay, that *He will do every Thing in his Power to the Satisfaction of his People.* It ſhould ſeem, therefore, that the recalling the Patent is not to be underſtood as a Thing *in his Power.* But, however, ſince the Law doth not oblige us to receive this Coin, and conſequently the Patent leaves it to our voluntary Choice, there is nothing remaining to preſerve us from Ruin, but that the whole Kingdom ſhould continue in a firm, determinate Reſolution, never to receive or utter this *fatal Coin.* After which let the *Officers,* to whom theſe Orders are directed (I would willingly except the *Military)* come with their *Exhortations,* their *Arguments,* and their *Eloquence,* to perſuade us to find our Intereſt in our Undoing. Let *Wood* and his *Accomplices* travel about the Country with *Cart-Loads* of their *Ware,* and ſee who will take it off their Hands; there will be no Fear of his being robbed; for a *Highwayman* would ſcorn to touch it.

I am only in Pain how the *Commiſſioners* of the *Revenue* will proceed in this Juncture; becauſe, I am told, they are obliged, by Act of Parliament, to take nothing but *Gold* and *Silver* in Payment for his Majeſty's *Cuſtoms:* And I think they cannot juſtly offer this Coinage of Mr. *Wood* to others, unleſs they will be content to receive it themſelves.

The

The Sum of the whole is this: The *Committee adviſes the King to ſend immediate Orders to all his Officers here, that* Wood's *Coin be ſuffered and permitted without any Let, Suit, Trouble, &c. to paſs, and be received as* Current Money *by ſuch as ſhall be* willing *to receive the ſame.* It is probable, that the firſt *willing Receivers* may be thoſe who muſt *receive it whether they will or no*, at leaſt under the Penalty of loſing an Office. But the Landed *undepending Men*, the *Merchants*, the *Shopkeepers*, and Bulk of the People, I hope, and am almoſt confident, will never receive it. What muſt the Conſequence be? The Owners will ſell it for as much as they can get. *Wood's Half-pence* will come to be offered for Six a Penny (yet then he will be a ſufficient Gainer) and the *Neceſſary Receivers* will be Loſers of two Thirds in their *Salaries* or *Pay*.

This puts me in mind of a Paſſage I was told many Years ago in *England*. At a Quarter Seſſion in *Leiceſter* the Juſtices had wiſely decreed to take off a *Half-penny* in a Quart from the Price of Ale. One of them, who came in after the Thing was determined, being informed of what had paſſed, ſaid thus: *Gentlemen, you have made an Order, that* Ale *ſhould be ſold in our Country for three Half-pence a Quart; I deſire you will now make another, to appoint who muſt drink it; for by G--- I will not.*

I muſt beg Leave to caution your *Lordſhips* and *Worſhips* in one Particular. *Wood* hath graciouſly promiſed to *load* us at preſent only with forty thouſand Pounds of his Coin, *till the Exigencies of the State require the reſt.* I intreat you will never ſuffer Mr. *Wood* to be a Judge of your *Exigencies*. While there is one Piece of *Silver* or *Gold* left in the Kingdom, he will call it an *Exigency*. He will double his preſent *Quantum* by Stealth as ſoon as he can: He will pour his own *Raps* and *Counterfeits* upon us; *France* and *Holland* will do the ſame; nor will our own Coiners at home be behind them: To confirm which, I have now in my Pocket a *Rap*, or Counterfeit Half-penny, in Imitation of his; but ſo ill performed, that, in my Conſcience, I believe it is not of his Coining.

I muſt now deſire your *Lordſhips* and *Worſhips* that you will give great Allowance for this long undigeſted Paper. I find myſelf to have gone into ſeveral Repetitions, which were the Effects of Haſte, while new Thoughts fell in to add ſomething to what I had ſaid before. I think I may affirm, that I have fully anſwered every Paragraph in the *Report*; which, although it be not unartfully drawn, and is perfectly in the Spirit of a Pleader, who can find the moſt plauſible Topicks in Behalf of his Client, yet there was no great Skill required to detect the many Miſtakes contained in it; which, however, are by no Means to be charged upon

upon the Right Honourable *Committee*, but upon the moſt falſe, impudent, and fraudulent Repreſentations of *Wood* and his Accomplices. I deſire one Particular may dwell upon your Minds, although I have mentioned it more than once: That after all the Weight laid upon the *Precedent*, there is not one produced in the whole *Report*, of a Patent for coining Copper in *England* to paſs in *Ireland*; and only two Patents referred to, (for indeed there were no more) which were both paſſed in *Ireland*, by References to the King's Council here, both leſs advantageous to the Coiner than this of *Wood*; and in both *Securities given to receive the Coin at every Call, and give Gold and Silver in lieu of it*. This demonſtrates the moſt flagrant Falſhood and Impudence of *Wood*, by which he would endeavour to make the Right Honourable *Committee* his Inſtruments, (for his own illegal and exorbitant Gain) to ruin a Kingdom, which has deſerved *quite different Treatment*.

I am very ſenſible that ſuch a Work as I have undertaken might have worthily employed a much better Pen. But when a Houſe is attempted to be robbed, it often happens that the weakeſt in the Family runs firſt to ſtop the Door. All the Aſſiſtance I had, were ſome Informations from an eminent *Perſon*; whereof I am afraid I have ſpoiled a few, by endeavouring to make them of a Piece with my own Productions, and the reſt I was not able to

manage: I was in the Caſe of *David*, who *could not move in the Armour of* Saul; and therefore I rather choſe to attack this *uncircumciſed Philiſtine* (*Wood* I mean) *with a Sling and a Stone*. And I may ſay for *Wood*'s Honour, as well as my own, that he reſembles *Goliah* in many Circumſtances, very applicable to the preſent Purpoſe: For *Goliah* had *a Helmet of* Braſs *upon his Head, and he was armed with a Coat of Mail, and the Weight of the Coat was five thouſand Shekels of* Braſs, *and he had Greaves of* Braſs *upon his Legs, and a Target of* Braſs *between his Shoulders*. In ſhort, he was like Mr. *Wood*, all over *Braſs*, and *he defied the Armies of the living* GOD. *Goliah*'s Conditions of Combat were likewiſe the ſame with thoſe of *Wood*: *If he prevail againſt us, then ſhall we be his Servants*. But if it happens that I *prevail* over him, I renounce the other Part of the Condition; he ſhall never be a *Servant* of mine; for I do not think him fit to be truſted in any *honeſt* Man's Shop.

I will conclude with my humble Deſire and Requeſt, which I made in my ſecond Letter, that your *Lordſhips* and *Worſhips* would pleaſe to order a *Declaration* to be drawn up, expreſſing in the ſtrongeſt Terms your Reſolutions never to receive or utter any of *Wood*'s Half-pence or Farthings, and forbidding your Tenants to receive them. That the ſaid *Declaration* may be ſigned by as many Perſons as poſſible, who have Eſtates in this Kingdom,

and

and be ſent down to your ſeveral Tenants aforeſaid.

And if the Dread of *Wood*'s Half-pence ſhould continue until next *Quarter Seſſion*, which I hope it will not, the Gentlemen of every County will then have a fair Opportunity of declaring againſt them with Unanimity and Zeal.

I am, with the greateſt Reſpect,

(May it pleaſe your Lordſhips and Worſhips,)

Your moſt dutiful and

Obedient Servant,

Aug. 25, 1724. M. B.

LETTER IV.

To the Whole PEOPLE of

IRELAND.

N. B. *This was the* LETTER, *againſt which the Lord Lieutenant* [Carteret] *and Council iſſued a Proclamation, offering three Hundred Pounds to diſcover the Author; and for which* Harding, *the Printer, was tried, before one* William Whitſhed, *the Chief Juſtice: But the noble Jury would not find the Bill, nor would any Perſon diſcover the Author.*

My dear Countrymen,

HAVING already written three LETTERS upon ſo diſagreeable a Subject as Mr. *Wood* and his *Half-pence*, I conceived my Taſk was at an End; but I find that Cordials muſt be frequently applied to weak Conſtitutions, *political* as well as *natural*. A People long uſed to Hardſhips, loſe by Degrees the very

very Notions of *Liberty*; they look upon themſelves as Creatures at Mercy, and that all Impoſitions laid on them by a ſtronger Hand, are, in the Phraſe of the Report, *legal* and *obligatory*. Hence proceed that *Poverty* and *Lowneſs* of *Spirit*, to which a *Kingdom* may be *ſubject*, as well as a *particular Perſon*. And when *Eſau* came fainting from the Field, at the Point to die, it is no Wonder that he ſold his *Birthright for a Meſs of Pottage*.

I thought I had ſufficiently ſhewn to all who could want Inſtruction, by what Methods they might ſafely proceed, whenever this *Coin* ſhould be offered to them: And, I believe, there hath not been, for many Ages, an Example of any Kingdom ſo firmly united in a Point of great Importance, as this of ours is at preſent, againſt that deteſtable Fraud. But, however, it ſo happens, that ſome weak People begin to be alarmed a-new by Rumours induſtriouſly ſpread. *Wood* preſcribes to the Newſmongers in *London*, what they are to write. In one of their Papers, publiſhed here by ſome obſcure Printer (and certainly with a bad Deſign) we are told, that the *Papiſts in* Ireland *have entered into an Aſſociation againſt his Coin*; although it be notoriouſly known, that they never once offered to ſtir in the Matter; ſo that the two Houſes of Parliament, the Privy Council, the great Numbers of Corporations, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin*, the Grand Juries, and principal Gentlemen

tlemen of ſeveral Counties, are ſtigmatized in a Lump, under the Name of *Papiſts*.

This Impoſtor and his Crew do likewiſe give out, that, by refuſing to receive his Droſs for Sterling, we *diſpute the King's Prerogative, are grown ripe for Rebellion, and ready to ſhake off the Dependency of* Ireland *upon the Crown of* England. To countenance which Reports, he hath publiſhed a Paragraph in another News-Paper, to let us know, that *the Lord Lieutenant is ordered to come over immediately to ſettle his Half-pence.*

I intreat you, my dear Countrymen, not to be under the leaſt Concern upon theſe, and the like Rumours, which are no more than the laſt Howls of a Dog diſſected alive, as I hope he hath ſufficiently been. Theſe Calumnies are the only Reſerve that is left him. For ſurely our continued and (almoſt) unexampled Loyalty will never be called in Queſtion, for not ſuffering ourſelves to be robbed of all that we have by one obſcure *Ironmonger*.

As to diſputing the King's *Prerogative*, give me Leave to explain to thoſe who are ignorant, what the Meaning of that Word *Prerogative* is.

The Kings of theſe Realms enjoy ſeveral Powers, wherein the Laws have not interpoſed; ſo they can make War and Peace without the Conſent of Parliament, and this is a very great *Prerogative*: But if the Parliament doth not approve of the War, the King muſt bear the Charge of it out of his own Purſe; and this

is

is as great a Check on the Crown. So the King hath a *Prerogative* to coin Money without Conſent of Parliament: But he cannot compel the Subject to take that Money, except it be Sterling, Gold or Silver; becauſe herein he is limited by Law. Some Princes have indeed extended their *Prerogative* farther than the Law allowed them: Wherein, however, the Lawyers of ſucceeding Ages, as fond as they are of *Precedents*, have never dared to juſtify them. But, to ſay the Truth, it is only of late Times that *Prerogative* hath been fixed and aſcertained. For whoever reads the Hiſtories of *England* will find, that ſome former Kings, and thoſe none of the worſt, have, upon ſeveral Occaſions, ventured to controul the Laws, with very little Ceremony or Scruple, even later than the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*. In her Reign, that pernicious Counſel of ſending *baſe Money* hither, very narrowly failed of loſing the Kingdom: being complained of by the Lord Deputy, the Council, and the whole Body of the *Engliſh* here: So that, ſoon after her Death, it was recalled by her Succeſſor, and lawful Money paid in Exchange.

Having thus given you ſome Notion of what is meant by the King's *Prerogative*, as far as a *Tradeſman* can be thought capable of explaining it, I will only add the Opinion of the great Lord *Bacon*, that *as* GOD *governs the World by the ſettled Laws of Nature, which he hath made, and never tranſcends thoſe Laws but upon high, important Occaſions; ſo among earthly Princes, thoſe*

thoſe are the wiſeſt and the beſt, who govern by the known Laws of the Country, and ſeldomeſt make uſe of their Prerogative.

Now here you may ſee that the vile Accuſation of *Wood* and his *Accomplices*, charging us with *diſputing the King's Prerogative*, by refuſing his Braſs, can have no Place; becauſe compelling the Subject to take any Coin which is not Sterling, is no Part of the King's *Prerogative*; and, I am very confident, if it were ſo, we ſhould be the laſt of his People to diſpute it; as well from that inviolable Loyalty we have always paid to His Majeſty, as from the Treatment we might, in ſuch a Caſe, juſtly expect from ſome, who ſeem to think, we have neither *common Senſe*, nor *common Senſes*. But, GOD be thanked, the beſt of them are only our *Fellow Subjects*, and not our *Maſters*. One great Merit, I am ſure, we have, which thoſe of *Engliſh* Birth can have no Pretence to, that our Anceſtors reduced this Kingdom to the Obedience of ENGLAND; for which we have been rewarded with a worſe Climate, the Privilege of being governed by Laws to which we do not conſent, a ruined Trade, a Houſe of *Peers* without *Juriſdiction*, almoſt an Incapacity for all Employments, and the Dread of *Wood*'s Half-pence.

But we are ſo far from diſputing the King's *Prerogative* in coining, that we own he hath Power to give a Patent to any Man, for ſetting his Royal Image and Superſcription upon whatever Materials he pleaſes; and Liberty to the

the Patentee to offer them in any Country from *England* to *Japan*, only attended with one ſmall Limitation, that *no body alive is obliged to take them.*

Upon theſe Conſiderations I was ever againſt all Recourſe to *England* for a Remedy againſt the preſent impending Evil; eſpecially when I obſerved, that the Addreſſes of both Houſes, after long Expectance, produced nothing but a REPORT, altogether in Favour of *Wood*; upon which I made ſome Obſervations in a former Letter, and might at leaſt have made as many more; for it is a Paper of as ſingular a Nature as I ever beheld.

But I miſtake; for before this *Report* was made, His Majeſty's *moſt gracious Anſwer* to the Houſe of Lords was ſent over, and printed; wherein are theſe Words, *granting the Patent for coining Half-pence and Farthings*, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, *&c.* That King *Charles* II. and King *James* II. (AND THEY ONLY) did grant Patents for this Purpoſe, is indiſputable, and I have ſhewn it at large. Their Patents were paſſed under the Great Seal of *Ireland*, by References to *Ireland*, the Copper to be coined in *Ireland*; the Patentee was bound, on Demand, to receive his Coin back in *Ireland*, and pay Silver and Gold in Return. *Wood*'s Patent was made under the Great Seal of *England*, the Braſs coined in *England*, not the leaſt Reference made to *Ireland*; the Sum immenſe, and the Patentee under no Obligation

to

to receive it again, and give good Money for it. This I only mention, becauſe, in my private Thoughts, I have ſometimes made a Query, whether the *Penner* of thoſe Words in His Majeſty's *moſt gracious Anſwer*, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, had maturely conſidered the ſeveral Circumſtances, which, in my poor Opinion, ſeem to make a Difference.

Let me now ſay ſomething concerning the other great Cauſe of ſome People's Fear, as *Wood* hath taught the *London* News-writer to expreſs it, That *his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant is coming over to ſettle* Wood's *Halfpence.*

We know very well, that the Lords Lieutenants, for ſeveral Years paſt, have not thought this Kingdom *worthy the Honour of their Reſidence*, longer than was abſolutely neceſſary for the King's Buſineſs; which, conſequently, *wanted no Speed in the Diſpatch.* And therefore it naturally fell into moſt Men's Thoughts, that a new Governor, coming at an *unuſual* Time, muſt portend ſome *unuſual* Buſineſs to be done; eſpecially if the common Report be true, that the Parliament, prorogued to I know not when, is, by a new Summons (that Prorogation being revoked) to aſſemble ſoon after his Arrival; for which extraordinary Proceeding, the Lawyers, on t'other Side the Water, have, by great good Fortune, found two *Precedents.*

All

All this being granted, it can never enter into my Head, that ſo *little a Creature as* Wood, could find Credit enough with the King and his Miniſters, to have the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* ſent hither in a Hurry upon his Errand.

For, let us take the whole Matter nakedly, as it lies before us, without the Refinements of ſome People, with which we have nothing to do. Here is a Patent granted under the Great Seal of *England*, upon falſe Suggeſtions, to one *William Wood*, for coining Copper *Half-pence* for *Ireland*: The Parliament here, upon Apprehenſions of the worſt Conſequences from the ſaid Patent, addreſs the King to have it recalled: This is refuſed, and a Committee of the Privy Council *report* to His Majeſty, that *Wood* has performed the Conditions of his Patent. He then is left to do the beſt he can with his *Half-pence*; no Man being obliged to receive them: The People here, being likewiſe left to themſelves, unite as one Man, reſolving they will have nothing to do with his Ware. By this plain Account of the Fact it is manifeſt, that the King, and his Miniſtry, are wholly out of the Caſe, and the Matter is left to be diſputed between him and us. Will any Man therefore attempt to perſuade me, that a Lord Lieutenant is to be diſpatched over in great Haſte, before the ordinary Time, and a Parliament ſummoned, by anticipating a Prorogation, merely to put an hundred thouſand Pounds into the Pocket of a *Sharper*, by the Ruin of a moſt loyal Kingdom?

But ſuppoſing all this to be true: By what Arguments could a Lord Lieutenant prevail on the ſame Parliament, which addreſſed with ſo much Zeal and Earneſtneſs againſt this Evil, to paſs it into a Law? I am ſure their Opinion of *Wood*, and his Project, are not mended ſince their laſt Prorogation: And ſuppoſing theſe *Methods* ſhould be uſed, which, *Detractors* tell us, have been ſometimes put in Practice for *gaining Votes*, it is well known, that, in this Kingdom, there are few Employments to be given; and if there were more, it is *as well known* to whoſe Share they muſt fall.

But, becauſe great Numbers of you are altogether ignorant of the Affairs of your Country, I will tell you ſome Reaſons why there are ſo few Employments to be diſpoſed of in this Kingdom. All conſiderable Offices for Life are here poſſeſſed by thoſe, to whom the Reverſions were granted; and theſe have been generally Followers of the Chief Governors, or Perſons who had Intereſt in the Court of *England*: So the Lord *Berkely* of *Stratton* holds that great Office of *Maſter of the Rolls*; the Lord *Palmerſtown* is *Firſt Remembrancer*, worth near 2000*l. per Annum*. One *Doddington*, Secretary to the Earl of *Pembroke*, begged the Reverſion of *Clerk of the Pells*, worth 2500*l.* a Year, which he now enjoys by the Death of the Lord *Newtown*. Mr. *Southwell* is Secretary of State, and the Earl of *Burlington* Lord High Treaſurer of *Ireland* by Inheritance. Theſe are only a few among many others which I have been told of, but

but cannot remember. Nay, the Reverſion of ſeveral Employments during Pleaſure are granted the ſame Way. This, among many others, is a Circumſtance whereby the Kingdom of *Ireland* is diſtinguiſhed from all other Nations upon Earth, and makes it ſo difficult to get into a Civil Employ, that Mr. *Addiſon* was forced to purchaſe an old obſcure Place, called *Keeper of the Records in* Bermingham's *Tower*, of ten Pounds a Year, and to get a Salary of 400 *l.* annexed to it, though all the Records there are not worth Half-a-Crown, either for Curioſity or Uſe. And we lately ſaw * a *favourite Secretary* deſcend to be *Maſter of the Revels*, which, by his *Credit* and *Extortion*, he hath made *pretty conſiderable*. I ſay nothing of the Under-Treaſurerſhip, worth about 9000 *l.* a Year, nor of the Commiſſioners of the Revenue, four of whom generally live in *England*; for I think none of theſe are granted in Reverſion. But the Jeſt is, that I have known, upon Occaſion, ſome of theſe abſent Officers as *keen* againſt the Intereſt of *Ireland*, as if they had never been indebted to her for a *ſingle Groat*.

I confeſs I have been ſometimes tempted to wiſh that this Project of *Wood* might ſucceed; becauſe I reflected with ſome Pleaſure, what a *jolly Crew* it would bring over among us of *Lords* and *Squires*, and *Penſioners* of *both Sexes*, and Officers *Civil* and *Military*, where we ſhould live together as merry and ſociable as Beggars;

* *Mr.* Hopkins, *Secretary to the Duke of* Grafton.

only with this one Abatement, that we ſhould neither have *Meat* to feed, nor *Manufacture* to cloath us; unleſs we could be content to *prance* about in *Coats of Mail*, or eat *Braſs* as Oſtriches do *Iron*.

I return from this Digreſſion to that which gave me the Occaſion of making it: And I believe you are now convinced, that if the Parliament of *Ireland* were as *temptable* as any *other* Aſſembly, within a Mile of *Chriſtendom* (which GOD forbid;) yet the *Managers* muſt of Neceſſity fail, for want of Tools to work with. But I will yet go one Step further, by ſuppoſing that a hundred new Employments were erected, on purpoſe, to gratify *Compliers*; yet ſtill an inſuperable Difficulty would remain. For it happens, I know not how, that *Money* is neither *Whig* nor *Tory*, neither of *Town* or *Country Party*; and it is not improbable, that a Gentleman would rather chuſe to live upon his *own Eſtate*, which brings him *Gold* and *Silver*, than with the Addition of an *Employment*, when his *Rents* and *Salary* muſt both be paid in *Wood's* Braſs, at above eighty *per Cent*. Diſcount.

For theſe, and many other Reaſons, I am confident you need not be under the leaſt Apprehenſions, from the ſudden Expectation of the *Lord Lieutenant*, while we continue in our preſent hearty Diſpoſition; to alter which there is no ſuitable Temptation can poſſibly be offered. And if, as I have often aſſerted from the beſt Authority, the *Law* hath not left a *Power* in the

the *Crown* to force any Money, except Sterling, upon the Subject: much leſs can the Crown *devolve* ſuch a *Power* upon *another*.

This I ſpeak with the utmoſt Reſpect to the *Perſon* and *Dignity* of his Excellency the Lord *Carteret*, whoſe Character was lately given me by a Gentleman that hath known him from his firſt Appearance in the World: That Gentleman deſcribes him as a young Man of great Accompliſhments, excellent Learning, regular in his Life, and of much Spirit and Vivacity. He hath ſince, as I have heard, been employed Abroad, was principal Secretary of State, and is now, about the thirty-ſeventh Year of his Age, appointed Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. From ſuch a Governor this Kingdom may reaſonably hope for as much Proſperity as, *under ſo many Diſcouragements*, it can be capable of receiving.

It is true indeed, that, within the Memory of Man, there have been Governors of ſo much Dexterity, as to carry Points of terrible Conſequence to this Kingdom, by their Power with *thoſe who are in Office*; and, by their Arts in managing or deluding others with *Oaths*, *Affability*, and even with *Dinners*. If *Wood's* Braſs had in thoſe Times been upon the *Anvil*, it is obvious enough to conceive what Methods would have been taken. *Depending* Perſons would have been told in plain Terms, that it was a *Service expected from them, under the Pain of the publick Buſineſs being put into more complying Hands*. Others would be allured by

Promiſes. To the *Country Gentlemen*, beſides *good Words*, *Burgundy*, and *Cloſetting*, it might perhaps have been hinted, how *kindly it would be taken to comply with a Royal Patent, although it were not compulſory*: That if any Inconveniencies enſued, it might be made up with other *Graces or Favours hereafter*: That *Gentlemen ought to conſider, whether it were prudent or ſafe to diſguſt* England: They would be deſired to *think of ſome good Bills for encouraging of Trade, and ſetting the Poor to work; ſome further Acts againſt Popery, and for uniting Proteſtants*. There would be ſolemn Engagements, that we ſhould *never be troubled with above forty thouſand Pounds in his Coin, and all of the beſt and weightieſt Sort, for which we ſhould only give our Manufactures in Exchange, and keep our Gold and Silver at Home*. Perhaps *a ſeaſonable Report of ſome Invaſion would have been ſpread in the moſt proper Juncture*; which is a great Smoother of Rubs in publick Proceedings: And we ſhould have been told, that *this was no Time to create Differences, when the Kingdom was in Danger*.

Theſe, I ſay, and the like Methods, would, in corrupt Times, have been taken to let in this Deluge of *Braſs* among us. And I am confident, even then would not have ſucceeded; much leſs under the Adminiſtration of ſo excellent a Perſon as the Lord CARTERET; and in a Country where the People of all Ranks, Parties, and Denominations, are convinced to a Man, that the utter undoing of themſelves and their Poſterity for ever will be

dated

dated from the Admiſſion of that execrable Coin: That if it once enters, it can be no more confined to a ſmall or moderate Quantity, than the *Plague* can be confined to a few Families; and that no *Equivalent* can be given by any earthly Power, any more than a dead Carcaſe can be recovered to Life by a Cordial.

There is one comfortable Circumſtance in this univerſal Oppoſition to Mr. *Wood*, that the People ſent over hither from *England*, to *fill up our Vacancies, Eccleſiaſtical, Civil*, and *Military*, are all on our Side. *Money*, the great *Divider* of the World, hath, by a ſtrange Revolution, been the great *Uniter* of a moſt *divided* People. Who would leave a hundred Pounds a Year in *England (a Country of Freedom)* to be paid a thouſand in *Ireland* out of *Wood's* Exchequer? The *Gentleman* they have lately made *Primate*, would never quit his Seat in an *Engliſh* Houſe of Lords, and his Preferments at *Oxford* and *Briſtol*, worth twelve hundred Pounds a Year, for four times the Denomination here, but not half the Value; therefore I expect to hear he will be as good an *Iriſhman*, at leaſt, upon *this one Article*, as any of his Brethren, or even of *us*, who have had the *Misfortune* to be born in this Iſland. For thoſe who, in the common Phraſe, do not *come hither to learn the Language*, would never change a better Country for a worſe, to receive *Braſs* inſtead of *Gold*.

Another Slander ſpread by *Wood*, and his Emiſſaries, is, that, by oppoſing him, we diſcover an Inclination to *ſhake off our Dependance upon the Crown of* England. Pray obſerve how important

important a Perſon is this ſame *William Wood*; and how the publick Weal of two Kingdoms is involved in his private Intereſt. Firſt, all thoſe who refuſe to take his Coin are *Papiſts*; for he tells us, that *none but* Papiſts are *aſſociated againſt him*. Secondly, they *diſpute the King's Prerogative*. Thirdly, they *are ripe for Rebellion*. And, Fourthly, they are going to *ſhake off their Dependance upon the Crown of* England; that is to ſay, *they are going to chuſe another King*; for there can be no other Meaning in this Expreſſion, however ſome may pretend to ſtrain it.

And this gives me an Opportunity of explaining, to thoſe who are ignorant, another Point, which hath often *ſwelled in my Breaſt*. Thoſe who come over hither to us from *England*, and ſome *weak* People among ourſelves, whenever, in Diſcourſe, we make mention of *Liberty* and *Property*, ſhake their Heads, and tell us, that *Ireland* is a *depending Kingdom*; as if they would ſeem, by this Phraſe, to intend, that the People of *Ireland* is in ſome State of Slavery or Dependance different from thoſe of *England*: Whereas a *depending Kingdom* is a *modern Term of Art*, unknown, as I have heard, to all ancient *Civilians*, and *Writers upon Government*; and *Ireland* is, on the contrary, called in ſome Statutes an *Imperial Crown*, as held only from GOD; which is as high a Style as any Kingdom is capable of receiving. Therefore by this Expreſſion, a *depending Kingdom*, there is no more underſtood than that, by a Statute made here in the thirty-

third

third Year of *Henry* VIII. *the King, and his Succeſſors, are to be Kings Imperial of this Realm, as united and knit to the Imperial Crown of* England. I have looked over all the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Statutes, without finding any Law that makes *Ireland* depend upon *England*, any more than *England* doth upon *Ireland*. We have indeed obliged ourſelves to have *the ſame King with them*; and conſequently they are obliged to have the *ſame King with us*. For the Law was made by *our own Parliament*; and our Anceſtors then were not ſuch *Fools (whatever they were in the preceding Reign)* to bring themſelves under I know not what *Dependance*, which is now talked of, without any Ground of *Law*, *Reaſon*, or *common Senſe*.

Let whoever think otherwiſe, I, *M. B. Drapier*, deſire to be excepted. For I declare, next under GOD, I *depend* only on the King my Sovereign, and on the Laws of my own Country. And I am ſo far from *depending* upon the People of *England*, that if they ſhould ever *rebel* againſt my Sovereign (which GOD forbid) I would be ready at the firſt Command from His Majeſty, to take Arms againſt them, as ſome of *my* Countrymen did againſt *theirs* at *Preſton*. And if ſuch a Rebellion ſhould prove ſo ſucceſsful as to fix the *Pretender* on the Throne of *England*, I would venture to trangreſs that *Statute* ſo far, as to loſe every Drop of my Blood to hinder him from being *King* of *Ireland*.

It

It is true indeed, that, within the Memory of Man, the Parliaments of *England* have *ſometimes* aſſumed the Power of binding this Kingdom by Laws enacted there; wherein they were, at firſt, openly oppoſed (as far as *Truth*, *Reaſon*, and *Juſtice* are capable of *oppoſing*) by the famous Mr. *Molineaux*, an *Engliſh* Gentleman born here, as well as by ſeveral of the greateſt Patriots, and *beſt Whigs* in *England*; but the *Love* and *Torrent* of Power prevailed. Indeed the Arguments on both Sides were invincible. For, in *Reaſon*, all *Government*, without the Conſent of the *governed*, is the very *Definition of Slavery*: But, in Fact, *eleven Men well armed will certainly ſubdue one ſingle Man in his Shirt*. But I have done: For thoſe who have uſed *Power* to cramp *Liberty*, have gone ſo far as to reſent even the *Liberty* of *complaining*; although a Man upon the Rack was never known to be refuſed the Liberty of *roaring* as loud as he thought fit.

And as we are apt to *ſink* too much under *unreaſonable* Fears, ſo we are too ſoon inclined to be *raiſed* by groundleſs Hopes, according to the Nature of all *conſumptive* Bodies like ours. Thus it hath been given about, for ſeveral Days paſt, that *Somebody* in *England* empowered a ſecond *Somebody* to write to a third *Somebody* here, to aſſure us, that we *ſhould no more be troubled with theſe Half-pence*. And this is reported to have been done by the * *ſame Perſon*,

* *Mr.* Walpole, *afterwards E. of* Orford.

ſon, who is ſaid to have ſworn, ſome Months ago, that he would *ram them down their Throats*, though, I doubt, they would *ſtick in our Stomachs*: But, which ever of theſe Reports be true or falſe, it is no Concern of ours. For, *in this Point*, we have nothing to do with *Engliſh Miniſters*: And I ſhould be ſorry to leave it in their Power to redreſs this Grievance, or to enforce it; for the *Report of the Committee* hath given me a *Surfeit*. The Remedy is wholly in your Hands; and therefore I have digreſſed a little, in order to refreſh and continue that *Spirit* ſo ſeaſonably raiſed amongſt you; and to let you ſee, that, by the Laws of GOD, of NATURE, of NATIONS, and of your own Country, you ARE, and OUGHT to be as FREE a People as your Brethren in *England*.

If the Pamphlets publiſhed at *London* by *Wood* and his *Journeymen*, in Defence of his Cauſe, were reprinted here, and that our Countrymen could be perſuaded to read them, they would convince you of his wicked Deſign, more than all I ſhall ever be able to ſay. In ſhort, I make him a perfect *Saint*, in Compariſon of what he appears to be from the Writings of thoſe whom he *hires* to juſtify his *Project*. But he is ſo far *Maſter of the Field (let others gueſs the Reaſon)* that no *London* Printer dare publiſh any Paper written in Favour of *Ireland*: And here nobody hath yet been ſo *bold* as to publiſh any thing in *Favour* of *him*.

There was, a few Days ago, a Pamphlet ſent me of near fifty Pages, written in favour of Mr. *Wood* and his Coinage, printed in *London*: It is not worth anſwering, becauſe probably it will never be publiſhed here. But it gave me an Occaſion to reflect upon an Unhappineſs we lie under, that the People of *England* are utterly ignorant of our Caſe; which, however, is no Wonder, ſince it is a Point they do not in the leaſt concern themſelves about, farther than perhaps as a Subject of Diſcourſe in a Coffee-houſe when they have nothing elſe to talk of. For I have Reaſon to believe that no Miniſter ever gave himſelf the Trouble of reading any Papers written in our Defence, becauſe I ſuppoſe *their Opinions are already determined*, and are formed wholly upon the Reports of *Wood* and his Accomplices; elſe it would be impoſſible that any Man could have the Impudence to write ſuch a Pamphlet as I have mentioned.

Our *Neighbours, whoſe Underſtandings are juſt upon a Level with ours* (which perhaps are none of the *brighteſt*) have a ſtrong Contempt for moſt Nations, but eſpecially for *Ireland*. They look upon us as a ſort of ſavage *Iriſh*, whom our Anceſtors conquered ſeveral hundred Years ago. And if I ſhould deſcribe the *Britons* to you as they were in *Cæſar*'s Time, when they *painted their Bodies, and clothed themſelves with the Skins of Beaſts*, I ſhould act full as reaſonably as they do. However, they are ſo far to be excuſed, in relation to the preſent

ſent Subject, that hearing only *one Side of the Cauſe*, and having neither Opportunity nor Curioſity to examine the *other*, they *believe a Lie* merely for their Eaſe; and conclude, becauſe Mr. *Wood* pretends to have *Power*, he hath alſo *Reaſon* on his Side.

Therefore, to let you ſee how this Caſe is repreſented in *England* by *Wood* and his Adherents, I have thought it proper to extract out of that Pamphlet, a few of thoſe notorious Falſhoods, in point of *Fact* and *Reaſoning*, contained therein, the Knowledge whereof will confirm my Countrymen in their *own* right Sentiments, when they will ſee, by comparing both, how much their *Enemies* are in the *wrong*.

Firſt, The Writer poſitively aſſerts, *That* Wood's *Half-pence were current among us for ſeveral Months, with the univerſal Approbation of all People, without one ſingle Gainſayer; and we all, to a Man, thought ourſelves happy in having them.*

Secondly, He affirms, *That we were drawn into a Diſlike of them only by ſome cunning, evil deſigning Men among us, who oppoſed this Patent of* Wood, *to get another for themſelves.*

Thirdly, That *thoſe who moſt declared at firſt againſt* Wood's *Patent, were the very Men who intend to get another for their own Advantage.*

Fourthly, That *our Parliament and Privy Council, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of* Dublin, *the Grand Juries and Merchants, and, in ſhort, the whole Kingdom, nay, the very Dogs*

(as he expreſſeth it) *were fond of thoſe Half-pence, till they were inflamed by thoſe few deſigning Perſons aforeſaid.*

Fifthly, He ſays directly, that *all thoſe, who oppoſed the Half-pence, were Papiſts, and Enemies to King* George.

Thus far, I am confident, the moſt ignorant among you can ſafely ſwear, from your own Knowledge, that the Author is a moſt notorious Liar in every Article; the direct contrary being ſo manifeſt to the whole Kingdom, that, if Occaſion required, we might get it confirmed under *five hundred thouſand Hands.*

Sixthly, He would perſuade us, that *if we ſell five Shillings worth of our Goods or Manufactures for two Shillings and four-pence worth of Copper, although the Copper were melted down, and that we could get five Shillings in Gold and Silver for the ſaid Goods; yet to take the ſaid two Shillings and four-pence in Copper would be greatly for our Advantage.*

And, laſtly, He makes us a very fair Offer, as empowered by *Wood*, that *if we will take off two hundred thouſand Pounds in his Half-pence for our Goods, and likewiſe pay him three* per Cent. *Intereſt for thirty Years, for an hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds* (at which he computes the Coinage above the intrinſick Value of the Copper) *for the Loan of his Coin, he will, after that Time, give us good Money for what Half-pence will be then left.*

Let

Let me place this Offer in as clear a Light as I can, to ſhew the inſupportable Villainy and Impudence of that incorrigible Wretch. Firſt (ſays he) *I will ſend two hundred thouſand Pounds of my Coin into your Country: The Copper I compute to be in real Value, eighty thouſand Pounds, and I charge you with an hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds for the Coinage; ſo that you ſee, I lend you an hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds for thirty Years; for which you ſhall pay me three* per Cent. *that is to ſay, three thouſand ſix hundred Pounds* per Annum, *which, in thirty Years, will amount to an hundred and eight thouſand Pounds. And, when theſe thirty Years are expired, return me my Copper, and I will give you good Money for it.*

This is the Propoſal made to us by *Wood* in that Pamphlet written by one of his *Commiſſioners:* And the Author is ſuppoſed to be the ſame infamous *Coleby*, one of his *Under-Swearers* at the *Committee of Council*, who was tried for *robbing the Treaſury here*, where he was an Under-Clerk.

By this Propoſal he will firſt receive two hundred thouſand Pounds, in Goods or Sterling, for as much Copper as he values at eighty thouſand Pounds; but in Reality not worth thirty thouſand Pounds. Secondly, he will receive for Intereſt an hundred and eight thouſand Pounds: And when our Children come, thirty Years hence, to return his *Half-pence* upon his Executors, (for before that Time he will be probably gone to *his own Place*) thoſe Executors

will very reaſonably reject them as Raps and Counterfeits; which they will be, and Millions of them of his own Coinage.

Methinks I am fond of ſuch a *Dealer* as this, who mends every Day upon our Hands like a *Dutch* Reckoning, where, if you diſpute the Unreaſonableneſs and Exorbitance of the Bill, the Landlord ſhall bring it up every Time with new Additions.

Although theſe, and the like Pamphlets, publiſhed by *Wood* in *London*, are altogether unknown here, where no body could read them without as much *Indignation* as *Contempt* would allow; yet I thought it proper to give you a Specimen how the Man employs his Time, where he rides alone without any Creature to contradict him; while OUR FEW FRIENDS there wonder at our Silence: And the *Engliſh* in general, if they think of this Matter at all, impute our Refuſal to *Wilfulneſs* or *Diſaffection*, juſt as *Wood* and his *Hirelings* are pleaſed to repreſent.

But although our Arguments are not ſuffered to be printed in *England*, yet the Conſequence will be of little Moment. Let *Wood* endeavour to perſuade the People there, that we ought to *receive* his Coin; and let me convince our People here, that they ought to *reject* it under Pain of our utter Undoing; and then let him do his *beſt* and his *worſt*.

Before I conclude I muſt beg Leave, in all Humility, to tell Mr. *Wood*, that he is guilty of great *Indiſcretion*, by cauſing ſo honourable a Name

a Name as that of Mr. *Walpole* to be mentioned ſo often and in ſuch a manner, upon this Occaſion. A ſhort Paper printed at *Briſtol*, and reprinted here, reports Mr. *Wood* to ſay, that he *wonders at the Impudence and Inſolence of the* Iriſh, *in refuſing his Coin, and what he will do when Mr.* Walpole *comes to Town.* Where, by the Way, he is miſtaken; for it is the *true* Engliſh *People of* Ireland who refuſe it, although we take it for granted, that the *Iriſh* will do ſo too whenever they are aſked. In another printed Paper of his Contriving it is roundly expreſſed, that Mr. *Walpole* will *cram his Braſs down our Throats.* Sometimes it is given out, that we muſt *either take theſe Half-pence, or eat our Brogues*: And in another News-Letter, but of Yeſterday, we read, that the ſame great Man *hath ſworn to make us ſwallow his Coin in Fire-balls.*

This brings to my Mind the know Story of a *Scotchman*, who, receiving the Sentence of Death, with all the Circumſtances of *Hanging*, *Beheading*, *Quartering*, *Embowelling*, and the like, cried out, *What need all this* COOKERY? And I think we have Reaſon to aſk the ſame Queſtion; for if we believe *Wood*, here is a *Dinner* getting ready for us, and you ſee the *Bill of Fare*; and I am ſorry the *Drink* was forgot, which might eaſily be ſupplied with *melted Lead* and *flaming Pitch.*

What vile Words are theſe to put into the Mouth of a great Counſellor, in high Truſt with His Majeſty, and looked upon as a Prime

Miniſter? If Mr. *Wood* hath no better a Manner of repreſenting his Patrons, when I come to be a *great Man*, he ſhall never be ſuffered to attend at my *Levee*. This is not the Style of a great Miniſter; it ſavours too much of the *Kettle* and the *Furnace*, and came entirely out of *Wood's Forge*.

As for the Threat of making us *eat our Brogues*, we need not be in Pain; for if his Coin ſhould paſs, that *unpolite Covering for the Feet* would no longer be a *National Reproach*; becauſe we then ſhould have neither *Shoe* nor *Brogue* left in the Kingdom. But here the Falſhood of Mr. *Wood* is fairly detected; for I am confident Mr. *Walpole* never heard of a *Brogue* in his whole Life.

As to *ſwallowing theſe Half-pence in Fire-balls*, it is a Story equally improbable. For, to execute this Operation, the whole Stock of Mr. *Wood*'s Coin and Metal muſt be melted down, and moulded into hollow *Balls* with *Wild-fire*, no bigger than a reaſonable Throat may be able to ſwallow. Now, the Metal he hath prepared, and already coined, will amount to at leaſt fifty Millions of *Half-pence* to be *ſwallowed* by a Million and a half of People; ſo that, allowing two *Half-pence* to each *Ball*, there will be about ſeventeen Balls of Wild-fire a-piece, to be ſwallowed by every Perſon in the Kingdom; And, to adminiſter this Doſe, there cannot be conveniently fewer than fifty thouſand *Operators*, allowing one *Operator* to every thirty; which, conſidering the *Squeamiſh-*

neſs

neſs of ſome Stomachs, and the *Peeviſhneſs* of *young Children*, is but reaſonable. Now, under Correction of better Judgments, I think the Trouble and Charge of ſuch an Experiment would exceed the Profit; and therefore I take this Report to be ſpurious, or, at leaſt, only a new Scheme of Mr. *Wood* himſelf; which, to make it paſs the better in *Ireland*, he would father upon a *Miniſter of* State.

But I will now demonſtrate, beyond all Contradiction, that Mr. *Walpole* is againſt this Project of Mr. *Wood*, and is an entire Friend to *Ireland*, only by this one invincible Argument, that he has the univerſal Opinion of being a wiſe Man, and able Miniſter, and in all his Proceedings purſuing the *true Intereſt* of the *King his Maſter:* And that as his *Integrity* is above all *Corruption*, ſo is his *Fortune* above all *Temptation*. I reckon therefore, we are perfectly ſafe from that *Corner*, and ſhall never be under the Neceſſity of contending with ſo *formidable a Power*, but be left to poſſeſs our *Brogues* and *Potatoes* in Peace, as * *remote from Thunder as we are from* Jupiter.

I am, my dear Countrymen,
Your Loving Fellow Subject,
Fellow Sufferer, and
Humble Servant,

Octob. 13, 1724. M. B.

* Procul à Jove, procul à fulmine.

In

In about a Month after the Proclamation was publiſhed, offering three Hundred Pounds Reward for diſcovering the Author of the preceding Letter, the following Paper was publiſhed.

The PRESENTMENT of the *Grand Jury* of the County of the City of *Dublin*.

WHEREAS ſeveral great Quantities of baſe Metal coined, commonly called *Wood*'s Half-pence, have been brought into the Port of *Dublin*, and lodg'd in ſeveral Houſes of this City, with an Intention to make them paſs clandeſtinely among His Majeſty's Subjects of this Kingdom; notwithſtanding the Addreſſes of both Houſes of Parliament, and the Privy Council, and the Declarations of moſt of the Corporations of this City againſt the ſaid Coin: And whereas his Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to leave his loyal Subjects of this Kingdom at Liberty to take, or refuſe the ſaid Half-pence:

We the *Grand Jury* of the County of the City of *Dublin*, this *Michaelmas Term* 1724, having

having entirely at Heart His Majeſty's Intereſt, and the Welfare of our Country, and being thoroughly ſenſible of the great Diſcouragements which Trade hath ſuffer'd by the Apprehenſions of the ſaid Coin, whereof we have already felt the diſmal Effects; and that the Currency thereof will inevitably tend to the great Diminution of His Majeſty's Revenue, and the Ruin of us and our Poſterity, do *preſent* all ſuch Perſons as have attempted, or ſhall endeavour by Fraud, or otherwiſe, to impoſe the ſaid Half-pence upon us, contrary to his Majeſty's moſt gracious Intentions, as Enemies to his Majeſty's Government, and to the Safety, Peace, and Welfare of all His Majeſty's Subjects of this Kingdom; whoſe Affections have been ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed by their Zeal to his illuſtrious Family before his happy Acceſſion to the Throne, and by their continued Loyalty ever ſince.

As we do, with all juſt Gratitude, acknowledge the Services of all ſuch *Patriots* as have been eminently *zealous* for the Intereſt of his Majeſty and this Country, in detecting the fraudulent Impoſitions of the ſaid *Wood*, and preventing the paſſing his baſe Coin; ſo we do, at the ſame Time, declare our Abhorrence and Deteſtation of all Reflections on His Majeſty and his Government; and that we are ready with our Lives and Fortunes, to defend his moſt ſacred Majeſty againſt the *Pretender*, and all

all His Majeſty's open and ſecret Enemies both at Home and Abroad.

Given under our Hands, at the Grand Jury Chamber, this 28th of *November*, 1724.

George Forbes,
William Empſon.
Nathanael Pearſon,
Joſeph Nuttall,
William Aſton,
Stearne Tighe,
Richard Walker,
Edmond French,
John Vereilles,
Philip Pearſon,
Thomas Robins,
Richard Dawſon.
David Tew,
Thomas How,
John Jones,
James Brown,
Charles Lyndon,
Jerom Bredin,
John Sican,
Anthony Brunton,
Thomas Gaven,
Daniel Elwood,
John Brunet.

Seaſonable

Seaſonable ADVICE *to the* Grand Jury, *concerning the Bill preparing againſt the* Printer *of the preceding* LETTER.

SINCE a *Bill* is preparing for the *Grand Jury*, to find againſt the Printer of the *Drapier's laſt Letter*, there are ſeveral Things maturely to be conſidered by thoſe Gentlemen before they determine upon it.

Firſt, They are to conſider, that the Author of the ſaid Pamphlet did write three other Diſcourſes on the ſame Subject, which, inſtead of being cenſured, were univerſally approved by the whole Nation, and were allowed to have raiſed, and continued that Spirit among us, which hitherto hath kept out *Wood*'s Coin; for all Men will grant, that if thoſe Pamphlets had not been writ, his Coin muſt have overrun the Nation ſome Months ago.

Secondly, It is to be conſidered, that this Pamphlet, againſt which a *Proclamation* hath been iſſued, is writ by the *ſame Author*: That no body ever doubted the Innocence and Goodneſs of his Deſign; that he appears, through the whole Tenor of it, to be a *loyal Subject* to His Majeſty, and devoted to the Houſe of *Hanover*, and declares himſelf in a Manner peculiarly zealous againſt the *Pretender*. And if ſuch a Writer, in four ſeveral Treatiſes on ſo nice a Subject, where a Royal Patent is concerned,

concerned, and where it was neceſſary to ſpeak of *England*, and of *Liberty*, ſhould, in one or two Places, happen to let fall an inadvertent Expreſſion, it would be hard to condemn him, after all the Good he hath done, eſpecially when we conſider, that he could have no poſſible Deſign in View, either of Honour or Profit, but purely the GOOD of his COUNTRY.

Thirdly, It ought to be well conſidered, whether any one Expreſſion in the ſaid Pamphlet be really liable to a juſt Exception, much leſs to be found *wicked, malicious, ſeditious, reflecting upon His Majeſty and his Miniſtry, &c.*

The two Points in that Pamphlet, which, it is ſaid, the Proſecutors intend chiefly to fix on, are, Firſt, where the Author mentions the Penner of the King's Anſwer. Firſt, it is well known His Majeſty is not Maſter of the *Engliſh* Tongue; and therefore it is neceſſary that ſome other Perſon ſhould be employed to pen what he hath to ſay, or write in that Language. Secondly, His Majeſty's Anſwer is not in the firſt Perſon; but in the third. It is not ſaid, WE ARE CONCERNED, or OUR ROYAL PREDECESSORS; but HIS MAJESTY *is concerned*, and *his* ROYAL PREDECESSORS. By which it is plain, theſe are properly not the Words of His Majeſty, but ſuppoſed to be taken from him, and tranſmitted hither by one of his Miniſters. Thirdly, it will be eaſily ſeen, that the Author of the Pamphlet delivers his Sentiments upon this Particular, with the utmoſt Caution and Reſpect, as any impartial Reader will obſerve.

The

The ſecond Paragraph, which, it is ſaid, will be taken Notice of, as a Motive to find the Bill, is what the Author ſays of *Ireland*'s being a dependent Kingdom: He explains all the Dependence he knows of, which is a Law made in *Ireland*, whereby it is enacted, that *whoever is King of* England *ſhall be King of* Ireland. Before this Explanation be condemned, and the Bill found upon it, it would be proper, that ſome Lawyers ſhould fully inform the Jury what other Law there is, either Statute or Common, for this *Dependency*; and if there be no Law, there is no Tranſgreſſion.

The fourth Thing very maturely to be conſidered by the Jury, is, what Influence their finding the Bill may have upon the Kingdom: The People in general find no Fault in the *Drapier*'s laſt Book, any more than in the three former; and therefore when they hear it is condemned by a Grand Jury of *Dublin*, they will conclude it is done in Favour of *Wood*'s Coin; they will think, we of this Town have changed our Minds, and intend to take thoſe Half-pence, and therefore that it will be in vain for them to ſtand out: So that the Queſtion comes to this: Which will be of the worſt Conſequence, to let paſs one or two Expreſſions, at the worſt only unwary, in a Book written for the publick Service; or to leave a free open Paſſage for *Wood*'s Braſs to over-run us, by which we ſhall be undone for ever.

The fifth Thing to be conſidered is, that the Members of the Grand Jury, being Merchants

and principal Shop-keepers, can have no ſuitable Temptation offered them, as a Recompence for the Miſchief they will do, and ſuffer, by letting in this Coin; nor can be at any Loſs or Danger, by rejecting the Bill. They do not expect any Employments in the State, to make up in their own private Advantages, by the Deſtruction of their Country; whereas thoſe who go about to *adviſe*, *entice*, or *threaten* them to find that Bill, have great Employments which they have a Mind to keep, or to get *greater*; as it was likewiſe the Caſe of all thoſe who ſigned the Proclamation to have the Author proſecuted. And therefore it is known, that his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, ſo renowned for his Piety, and Wiſdom, and Love of his Country, abſolutely refuſed to condemn the Book or the Author.

Laſtly, It ought to be conſidered what Conſequence the finding the Bill may have upon a poor Man, perfectly innocent; I mean the Printer. A Lawyer may pick out Expreſſions, and make them liable to Exception, where no other Man is able to find any. But how can it be ſuppoſed that an ignorant Printer can be ſuch a *Critick?* He knew the Author's Deſign was honeſt, and approved by the whole Kingdom: He adviſed with Friends, who told him there was no Harm in the Book, and he could ſee none himſelf: It was ſent him in an unknown Hand; but the ſame in which he received the three former. He and his Wife have offered to take their Oaths, that they knew

knew not the Author. And therefore to find a Bill, that may bring Puniſhment upon the Innocent, will appear *very hard*, to ſay no worſe. For it will be impoſſible to find the Author, unleſs he will pleaſe to diſcover himſelf; although I wonder he ever concealed his Name: But, I ſuppoſe, what he did at firſt of Modeſty, he continues to do out of Prudence. GOD protect us and him.

I will conclude all with a Fable aſcribed to *Demoſthenes*: He had ſerved the People of *Athens* with great Fidelity, in the Station of an *Orator*; when, upon a certain Occaſion, apprehending to be delivered over to his Enemies, he told the *Athenians*, his Countrymen, the following Story: Once, upon a Time, the *Wolves* deſired a League with the *Sheep*, upon this Condition, that the Cauſe of Strife might be taken away, which was the *Shepherds* and *Maſtiffs*: This being granted, the *Wolves*, without all Fear, made Havock of the *Sheep*.

November 11,
1724.

The Evening before the Trial, Copies of the preceding Paper were conveyed to every Perſon of the Grand Jury; *who, moved by the Reaſons contained in the ſaid Paper, would not find the Bill; whereupon the Chief Juſtice* Whitſhed *diſſolved the* Jury *in a Rage. After which the following Extract was publiſhed, and diſperſed about the Town, to ſhew the Illegality of the ſaid* Whitſhed's *Proceeding.*

An Extract from a Book, entituled, *An exact Collection of the Debates of the* Houſe of Commons, *held at* Weſtminſter, Oct. 21, 1680, *Pag.* 150.

RESOLUTIONS of the Houſe of Commons in *England*, *Nov.* the 13th, 1680.

SEVERAL Perſons being examined about the diſmiſſing a Grand Jury in *Middleſex*, the Houſe came to the following *Reſolutions*:

Reſolved, That the Diſcharging of a Grand Jury by any Judge, before the End of the Term, Aſſizes, or Seſſions, while Matters are under their Conſideration, and not preſented, is arbitrary, illegal, deſtructive to publick Juſtice, a manifeſt Violation of his Oath, and is a Means to ſubvert the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom.

Reſolved, That a Committee be appointed to examine the Proceedings of the Judges in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; and report the ſame, with their Opinion herein, to this Houſe.

The END *of the* EIGHTH VOLUME.

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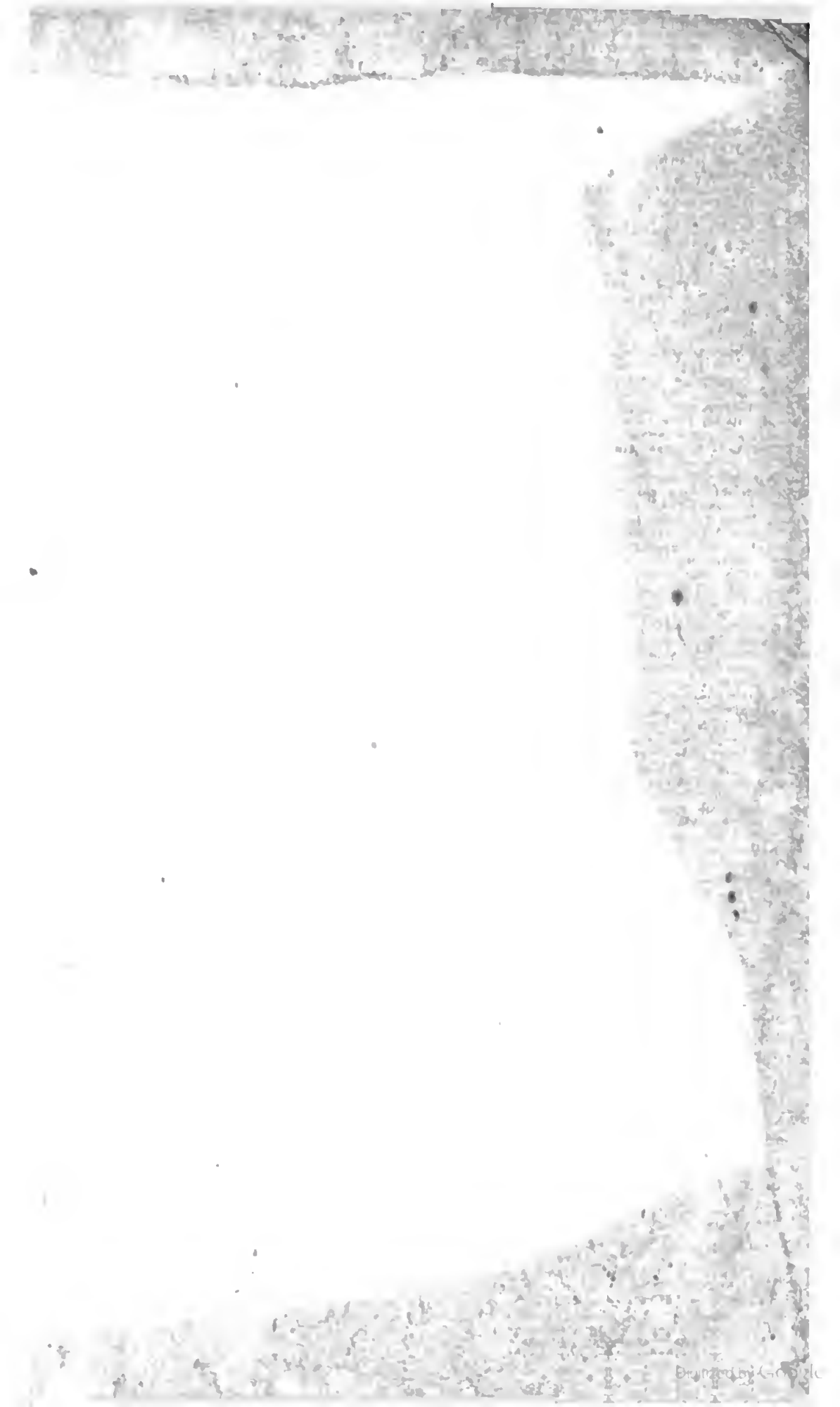
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